

O A
N A R R A T I V E
O F T H E
S U F F E R I N G S A N D R E L I E F
O F A
Y O U N G G I R L ;

Strangely Molested by EVIL SPIRITS
and their INSTRUMENTS, in the
West : Collected from Authentic Testi-
monies, with a Preface and Postscript.

Containing
Reflections on what is most Material or
Curious, either in the History or Trial
of the Seven WITCHES who were con-
demned and Burnt in the Gallow-Green,
of Paisley.

JOB ii. 6 *And the Lord said unto Satan, behold,
he is in thine hand; but save his life.*

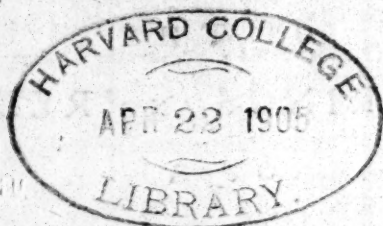
MATTH. xv. 22. *Have mercy upon me, O Lord,
thou Son of David; my daughter is grievously
vexed with a devil.*

ROM. xv. 20. *And the God of peace shall bruise Sa-
tan under your feet shortly.*

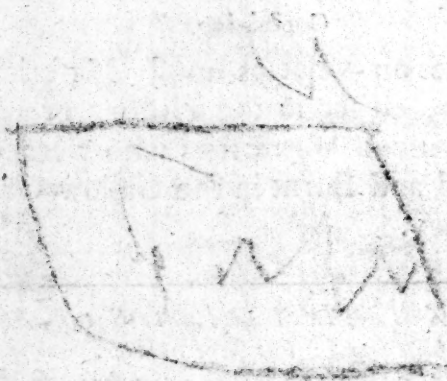
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T H E
P R E F A C E.

W I S E men do justly suspect, and are hardly brought to credit, the accounts of extraordinary stories; especially anent Witchcraft; because the frequent impostures which the Romanists have obtruded on the world in their miracles and legends; the many relations of odd things as done by dæmons or wizards, which yet, were either false or the product of simple natural causes; the ignorance of several judges and juries, who have condemned silly creatures merely upon their ridiculous confessions, or other slender proof; and the difficulty of conceiving the manner or philosophy of some operations and appearances, though undoubtedly true in fact; are good prejudices against a sudden belief, and precautions for an exact inquiry.

But they are men of weak souls, destitute of distinct thoughts; who deny all, because they have discovered error in some, or condemn as false, all sects which they are ignorant how they came to exist: by the same rule of reasoning that there are no enthusiasts, because the best men have been sometimes mistaken for these; nor are there any criminals, in respect severals have suffered who were not truly such, considering that many histories are fabulous, therefore none is to be trusted: And all the phænomina in nature, whose invisible causes they cannot comprehend, are mere delusions,

The following narrative, as to the truth of fact, is the best attested piece of history of this kind, as has occurred in many ages: the most of the matters therein represented having gained the assent of private

vate sceptics ; and being proven before public judges, so that it is more surprising than the strange things of witchcraft : that any should seriously deny the being thereof, and from thence discredit such useful providences at a distance, when notoriety has dispelled all objections in the places where they did exist.

Many authors have proven at large, that there are witches and witchcraft from reason, scripture, antiquity, and experience of all nations and ages in the world, and they have solved the difficulties which might obstruct the belief of this positive proof, by possible hypothesis of philosophy : where it is to be observed, that though any such explications of the natural manner of pænoménas are subject to cavil, yet the existence of a thing which hath so certain positive evidence cannot be denied in sound reasoning ; because angels and men not being made for civil converse together in this world, and all communion with devils being interdicted us, the Scripture needed to unfold little of their way of acting ; and still the next age may discover what this could not reach. As this has already unveiled what was thought inextricable in the last, unless impossibility were presently demonstrate.

Herefore such a short hint, as may somewhat illustrate the events in the subsequent discourse, may suffice in the present case ; especially since providence does, by eminent occurrences, rather design our practical instruction, than a subject of notional speculation.

The devil can assume a corporeal shape, and bespeak man out of it : as he did to Eve, with our Saviour, and in some Heathen oracles : so that there is capacity for the entering into contract. Satan is willing thus to ensure mortals of being enemies to Heaven, earth, and their own salvation ; by his indefatigable malice against all the three : as curiosity in wits ; revenge, and disclosure of secrets in the great,

covetousness in the wordling or poor and pleasure in all whom he thinks needful, (they being impregnable otherways), and is permitted by God, to attack in this manner; does sufficiently blind them, to be susceptible of his proposals thereanent. We see daily how criminal lusts inflamed by Satan divert their horror not only of eternal, but also of temporal imminent torments: perverting these instincts of nature which might fright them from surrender. But further, he does commonly facilitate his conquest on witches, by decoying them piece meal to his lure, through the mediation of others from among mankind that are already embarked, till they be prepared and he get an opportunity of making with them an explicit transaction.

That accordingly he has *de facto* prevailed in making sorcerers and witches appears from the testimony of the wisest and best in all states and times.

The Heathens, by nature and practice, discovering this truth, made laws against Maleficio's and Mathematico's, (these last, though they assumed the name of an art much encouraged by the legislators; yet were known, under the cloak thereof, to consult the devil anent the fates of men and states), which the Roman senate and people did execute; and even the Persians, in some good reigns did the like under the Old Testament, the magicians of Egypt and Babylon, who were baffled by Moses and Daniel; Balaam and the witch of Endor, with the success of both; yea, Jesebel, Manasseh, and the ten Tribes their just judgments for their sorceries and witchcrafts amongst other crimes; and the laws made against such, as distinct from other guilt under the New Testament, Simon Magus who bewitched the people of Samaria; Elimas the forcerer that was struck blind at Paul's rebuke; the Pythonisse who seems to have been possessed of consent, because she was not tormented, but got profit thereby; and

such as confessed, shewed their deeds and burnt their books in Ephesus ; are undeniable instances hereof. Finally there are prophecies of false Christs with signs and wonders able to deceive, if possible, the very elect : general councils have made canons against these wretches ; and the experimental knowledge of injured mortals, with the public sentences which did vindicate the same ; in subsequent ages, are delivered down to us by the writers thereof.

Hence Guilielmus Linensis a Popish doctor, was justly put to death, even though he died penitent, he having confessed witchcraft. (whereof the written covenant was found in his pocket), and that his share of the devil's service was to persuade and preach that witches were only silly deluded melancholians, whereby their confessions were no proof. His success was such in this work of darkness, that the people and judges did slack, and witches were vastly multiplied in few years *vid.* Pet. Mamorius *de Lamiis*, who gives an account of the process from authentic records.

Through these periods, it is observed, that Satan has oft shifted the scene, and turned himself to many shapes, as he found it most accomodate to his purposes ; whereby the manner of apparition of devils has been different, according to the state of the times. So of old Satan appeared, and was worshipped as such, for deprecating his mischief, which is said to be retained in some of the most barbarous places of the Indies to this day.

In the darkness of Popery, he transformed into a more innocent spirit (that pretended to foretel deaths, reveal the defunct's will, discover occult murder, do other friendly offices, &c. which were subtle means of inducing to him and relying on him), in the Brounics and Fairies. These were then very frequent, he having impudence thus to appear openly proportional to the knowledge of men, over whom his reign

was

was so universal, as it is related to continue in the more northern regions at this day. But since light has broke out in our horizon, he oftener works externally by magicians and witches, and internally on the lusts of men, being now mostly restrained to his own sphere or subjects. Yet still he ensnares severals, partly, by aping the ordinances of God ; especially as they are corrupted in the Romish church, whence so many monks and nuns as already prepared, have been found overcome. So he keeps with them public assemblies in the night of extraordinary merit. They formally worship him by many mimical gestures ; he imprints on them a kind of sacrament ; he inflicts dreadful penances on such as have not execute the commanded mischiefs ; he teaches them odd words and signs, upon repeating of which exorcisms, he (it being his interest) effectuates the fore-pactioned operations, &c.

But though what he does of himself, or on the watch word or ensign of forcerers or witches, may, by collection, and artful disposal of matter and form, appear surprising ; yet he cannot work against nature, or so apply actives to passives, as to overturn the course thereof ; since that is only competent to its Author, who alone can do true miracles, or know immediately the thoughts of man. Yea, after the fall it is like, that even Satan's natural powers are come down below those of good angels ; and it is certain, that he is often befooled in his designs by providence : notwithstanding whereof he retains so much as (being permitted) is sufficient to bring about, by unseen natural means, most of the extraordinary appearances, that the generality of the learned have attributed to him ; and particularly those in the subsequent narrative ; many of which, though they are beyond the efficiency of disease, deceit, or any visible cause ; yet may be the effects of some such unperceived means as follow.

There is no difficulty in Satans transmitting in a
short

short time an account of things which are past ; since it is known he goes to and fro in the earth : yea, he may have certainly foretold some future events, as Alexander's success against Persia, &c. seeing he understands and may steal, the great revolutions of the world, out of the prophets ; wherein they are so graphically circumscribed ; or he may discover his own resolutions whenever he is commissioned or permitted to execute a judgment ; which is the case of those whom, for seeking their horoscopes, God gives over to him to whom they do apply ; and of Saul, who got so exact an account of his own end by the Philistines. But without some such aid, Satan can only guess like the physician by the urine, or politician by the crisis of states, which is the cause that most of his oracles are ambiguous.

His transporting of witches is elsewhere explained. He can raise hurricanes (as appears in Job) which are known to carry over tracts of sea and land, very ponderous bodies ; as it is easy for him to condense a part of the vehicle, which may protect the breathing and yet cut the air, like the fence of dyvers, and beak of a sloop ; in which also he affects the magnifying of his natural powers to be no less than of good angels, who transported Ezekiel and Elijah. His covering of the witches from sight, at some times, is also cleared, from the difficulties which seem to attend it, in another place ; where it appears very possible that his skill in optics, reflection and refraction of light, &c. to which his power and agility as a spirit subministrates materials ; may effectuate all that can be proven to be true fact in the case.

But Glauvil, More, and others, lay another hypothesis in both, viz. That the soul is separable from the body in some cases, without death : when by God's permission, Satan, of the parties consent, gets power over soul and body ; whereby he may carry away the one from the helm of the other, and set it back again in it's seat ; providing the vital spi-
rits

rits which make the body a fit receptacle, be well preserved by ointments, that constrict the pores till the return of it's guest : but death ensues from a separation, when the organs of the body are rendered altogether unapt to obey the soul's commands in its functions. If such an opinion could be true, Satan might place this captivated spirit to actuate any shape he thinks fit. But there needs not so much metaphysics to unriddle the appearances of witches as beasts and the like ; since their real persons may be covered with a vehicle ; which, by disposal of the rays coming therefrom, may fascinate the eyes by the same impressions that come from the true sight of such. His power of representing another thing in lieu of that which is truly present : is so certain that it is found he may make up the image of persons who are not present at all. For it is undoubted that spiritual devils may sometimes be permitted to represent by phantoms the most innocent and praiseworthy men, as devils incarnate do traduce them. He that accuseth the brethren and imitates an angel of light, may likewise personate the children of light by his delusions : yet the antecedents, concomitants, and consequents, of such providences, do readily propale the falsehood ; so as the just man, for the most part, shall not perish in his righteousness, and God, in his ordinary providence, will not laugh at the trial of the innocent ; though sometimes it fall out, that the sons of Belial may swear away the life of an innocent Naboth.

There are several other things of less difficult explication. Particularly, the devil, or witches might have been heard in converse by the maid and not by others, the same way as a sound directed through a speaking-trumpet does reach the ears to which it is aimed, without dispersing towards the intermediate that are not in a straight line betwixt. The confederated devil, may, upon the witches desire, infuse poisonous humours, extracted from herbs of the
same

same invisible operation with the steam of mad-dogs, or the pestilence; which being joined to the rapidous course of the patient's own spirits, humours, and blood, that Satan, by ingyring himself ther unto, may, through the natural means of passion, set in career, can very well produce these extraordinary motions which are mentioned in the following account. They delight much in the torture or destruction of young children, in envy of Christ, who is tender of such little ones; and because the crime is the greater the less the patient has offended, or can resist. The use, or make others to repeat, scripture words, for gaining credit, or alleviating the terror, or to disgrace the word, by such a mock use, as they did in the time of our Saviour, and therefore their testimony was rebuted. It is observable from many passages, that he hastens sometimes, and effects their discovery, by his malice against their present temporal enjoyments; uncertainty of their continuance; and untairable desire for their full wreck. Yet some of them, who are most maliciously bent, he thinks fit to keep here, as useful instruments; and providence permits others to live, that they, wilfully filling up their measure, under means, may be finally inexcusable.

As to those whom, in secret judgment, the devil is permitted to torment; but, in mercy, not to overcome: he may be carried thereunto from his design of perverting them by terror, whereof he is at last disappointed. And however, the defacing of God's image, and especially in despite of Jesus Christ, who honoured that nature by assuming it, is his chief delight: or he is constrained to make such stupendous appearances against his will (because he is most successful when he is least known) for a visible testimony superadded to the greater gospel-proofs, in gross times, that there are spirits and a devil to torment them; as it is observable that this was denied by Mr Aikenhead (though he died in full
con-

conviction thereof) at the time when these things fell out in the country. Or providence may tolerate such sufferings, that they, though intended by the devil for an instance of malice, may, by their notoriety, be a mean of moving the discovery, and bringing to justice these miscreants, whom he made use of as his instruments in them ; and who may have lived long in rebellion against heaven, and destruction of mankind by malefices of the same sort, which fell out in this case. Finally, the abundant and efficacious grace of God is conspicuous in enabling a young girl to resist the best laid assaults of the evil one, to the utmost. As it is certain that he shews the greatest malice in countries where he is hated and hateth most ; and the nearer his reign be to an end.

There are many other profitable instructions which arise from this wonderful providence, for such dispensations have their own language, and the man of wisdom shall see God's name.

The usages of charms for men or beasts, certain characters, words, verses, and spells ; the observation of times and seasons as lucky, or unlucky ; the belief of having success by carrying about some herbs, plants, or branches of trees, and many the like superstitions : which can have no natural causality on the effects desired, are the very rudiments of witchcraft, and an implicit application to the devil for virtues which God has denied to things, whence they are to be abhorred as sinful in themselves and introductory to explicate engagement. So gross ignorance, profane looseness, stupid forgetfulness of God, and neglect of his worship in closets and families ; malice, envy, revenge discontent oppressive fear of want, and distrustful anxiety of spirit : finally, a libidinous temper, curses, imprecations, and sinful curiosity are to be evited as paving the way to the same mischief.

Let none enveigh against a profession of religion, because some under that specious covert have been
found

found in league with the devil. It is because of the glorious lustre and excellency of our holy faith, that these miscreants paint themselves with it, whereby likewise they may be less suspected, and more able, subtly to gain on others, and do their masters work. So it was no stain on the apostles that one of their number had a devil, was a traitor and cheat; nor that Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, of design that the good ways of the Lord may be evil spoken of. Neither let us be under a slavish fear and terror of that hellish tribe; in truckling to their humour, lest they should do harm, which savours of worshipping and paying homage to the Devil; whereas we ought only to make the Lord of hosts, our fear and our dread.

There is no just ground to reflect on particular persons or families, upon account of such troubles. For no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that's before them. All things come alike to all. And suppose ye that these were sinners above all the Galileans, or above all that dwelt in Jerusalem? The infinite wise God may thus try faith, patience, and Christian fortitude. Job and our Saviour were assaulted; and seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene a chosen vessel unto the Lord. A daughter of Abraham's was bound by Satan eighteen years; and his messenger was sent to buffet the great apostle of the Gentiles. The woman of Canaan, Mat. xv. 22. and the godly man, Mark ix. 24. had their nearest relations vexed in this manner: and blessed be the Lord that has left such instances in record for prevention of stumbling. Though it must be confessed that the same charity which judges well of all things cannot but alter its remark when its proof is sufficiently clear from the way in which the person affected did formerly walk, since presumptions do always cede to truth and lawyers have a maxim, that in *re clara non est locus conjecturis*

The deaf adder that stops the ears at the charming

ing voice of a sun-shine gospel, will, one way or other, fall into the charms of Satan or his instruments. When men will have none of Christ, he gives them up to their own lusts and the power of their spiritual adversary; as, when Israel had forshook their God, he gave them up to worship the host of heaven. But how much ought we to be humbled, and how great diligence ought to be used in the discovery of so many hid Achans that are in the camp of Israel! and what holy caution and pious use of our baptismal covenant, ought we to improve as the best amulets against being either enticed with the snares of the Devil, or affected by the attempts of his instruments. Yet poverty, age, or features, of any; yea, nor simple fame, or the like slender grounds, which could not be worthy of being represented to a magistrate; ought not to move us to suspicion, much less to defame, since charity hopes all things, and we ought to do to others as we would be done by.

These things may meet with a very different reception, especially in this unhappy age and place of the world, where Britain may be termed the unfortunate island; Afric never having been more fertile in the production of monsters: since its observed that through all the the successions of men, there was never before, any society or collective body of Atheists, till these dregs of time; though there might have been here and there some mishapen births. But wisdom is justified of her children, and its the season of Sampson to awake when Delilah gives the alarm, that the Philistines are upon him. What, peace! so long as the whoredoms of Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many. But good things are hoped of our magistrates, who have already so happily begun.

The apostle said of Job's trials ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord. So in this narrative you have a deplorable scheme of this maid's formidable fits, and of the

powers of darknes that combined, not only for ruining her body, but also for murdering her soul. In the mean time, the hearts of many were bleeding for her, and much application was made to God in her behalf. Divers solemn fasts were observed, both in her fathers family, in the parish, and throughout the bounds of the presbytery, and elsewhere; her case was expressly minded in public addressees to the throne of grace; till at length there was a general fast religiously kept in most parts of the synod, that God might give an effectual check to Satan's rage and dominion in the country. Boasting of prayers is to be abhorred, yet it is our duty, with all gratitude, to acknowledge God the hearer, and to proclaim to the world; the excellency of them, upon this very occasion: For he hath not turned away his ear from us, it being the comfortable result of this history, that the girl hath been perfectly well for many months: and is not this a brand plucked out of the fire; and have not the splinters wherewith the witches thought to have destroyed her, recoiled back upon some of themselves; and we wait execution of justice on the rest

The Devil could not enter the herd of swine, nor touch one hair of Job's head, without permission from him whose kingdom ruleth over all: whence though our enemies be very indefatigable and invisible, yet we are under the conduct of the watchman who neither slumbers nor sleeps; to whom darknes and light are both alike; and greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world; So that unless we wilfully forfeit our privileges, there is no fear of counterpoising the wicked ones, throwing down the gantlet to all their projects and machinations, since neither angels, principalities, nor powers, shall be able to separate us from the love which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; and though no argument can be drawn from any merit in us, yet we'll carry the day against all the militia of hell under the Cap-
tain

tain of our salvation, since he will rest in his own love. Is this the manner of man, O Lord God? yet a little while the Devil and his accomplices will be cast into the bottomless pit, and we transported into Immanuel's land.

It will not be a natural sturdiness of temper, nor a lifeless mentioning of the name of God or Christ, that can shelter us from those devourers, as appears in the seven sons of Sceva, Acts xix. but if the Lord be God, then follow him; for who is he that will harm you if ye be followers of that which is good; he will give his angels charge of thee to keep thee in all thy ways. Great peace have they that love thy law, and nothing shall offend them. And they wrestle most successfully against principalities and powers, who fight upon their knees, as resisting of the Devil is the way to make him flee from us.

Yet whom Satan cannot obtain to be tortured hereafter he will (when permitted) torment in this side of time: hence if obsessions of bodies be so great a plague, how much worse is it to have him reign master of our souls? Wherefore let us watch and pray against every sin, the least of which is more pleasing to him and worse to us than the being so corporally tormented.

If Satan as a spirit, may insinuate himself into our humours, no wonder that by having such advantage in the temper, he can influence the phlegmatic to sloth, the choleric to anger, the sanguine to lust and sinful pleasure, the melancholic to despair, &c. So they who think that they stand, have need to take heed lest they fall, and to pray that the watchman of Israel may make an hedge about them and their house, and about all that they have on every side.

Let this not only rouse our diligence and stir up our gratitude for not being affected alike: but let it recall our admiration and love of Jesus Christ, who hath freed our souls and bodies from the power and slavery of Satan; and finding ourselves too weak for

him, in awarding these deluding pleasures which procure our being deserted by God, and are Satan's baits to this fearful thralldom; let us run to the rock of ages for protection and support, our sufficiency being only of God.

Seeing there are witches and devils, there are also immortal souls of the first, since the last does contract for them, and takes such pains to retain them; so that the Saducees, though they have a judicial blindness in their reason, are hereby rendered inexcusable by very sense. Evil books which stir up and ensnare curious fancies, that are seldom accompanied with accurate judgments (the soul's looking outward diverting it from diving into the depths of truth) are to be restrained; and also such ridiculous pamphlets, as no doubt, by the instigation of Satan, have lately been sent abroad, of design to frustrate any good use which might be made of such rare providences, as are contained in the ensuing narrative, by forging others, or disguising this.

This has been delayed so long to be published, partly, that there might be the more narrow scrutiny made into the matters of fact; and partly, by some accidents which did retard it. In it the reader is not to expect any accuracy of style, because the designed shortness did occasion the wrapping up of much matter in small bounds. and the punctual exactness of truth in every circumstance was the chief aim, so that other defects ought to be the less quarrelled.

THE NARRATIVE.

IT was about the end of August 1696, when the first rise and occasion was given, (so far as can be known) to these strange things that befel the child, who is the subject of this narrative, and the manner was thus :

Christian Shaw, daughter to a gentleman of good account, called John Shaw, laird of Bargarran, in the parish of Erskine, within the shire of Renfrew; a snart lively girl, and of good inclinations, about eleven years of age, perceiving one of the maids of the house, named Katherine Campbel, to steal and drink some milk, she told her mother of it; whereupon the maid Campbel (being a young woman, of a proud and revengeful temper, and much addicted to cursing and swearing upon any light occasion, and otherwise given to purloining) did, in a most hideous rage, thrice imprecate the curse of God upon the child; and at the same time did thrice utter these horrid words, The Devil harle (that is drag) your soul through hell. This past upon Monday, August 17th. in presence of several witnesses, who afterwards made evidence of it.

Upon the Friday following, being August 21st, about sun-rising, one Agnes Naesmith, an old widow woman, ignorant, and of a malicious disposition, addicted to threatenings, (which sometimes were observed to be followed with fatal events), who lived in the neighbourhood, came to Bargarran's house; where finding the child, Christian, in the court with her younger sister, she asked How the lady and young child did, and how old the young sucking child was; to which Christian replied, What do I know? Then Agnes asked, How herself did, and how old she was;

to which she answered, That she was well, and in the eleventh year of her age.

On the Saturday night thereafter, being Aug. 22. the child went to bed in good health ; but so soon as she fell asleep, began to struggle and cry, Help, Help : and then suddenly got up, and did fly over the top of a resting bed, where she was lying (her father, mother, and others being in the room, and to their great astonishment and admiration) with such violence, that probably her brains had been dashed out, if a woman, providentially standing by, and supported by a door at her back, had not broke the force of the child's motion ; who being laid in another bed, remained stiff and insensible as if she had been dead, for the space of half an hour ; but for forty eight hours thereafter could not sleep, crying out of violent pains through her whole body, and no sooner began to sleep or turn drowsy but seemed greatly affrighted, crying still, Help. Help.

After this the pain fixt in her left side, and her body was often so bent and rigid, as she stood like a bow on her feet and neck at once, and continued without power of speech, except in some short intervals, for eight days ; during which time, she had scarce half an hours intermission together, the fits taking her suddenly, and both coming on and going off by a swerff or short deliquium, but appeared perfectly well and sensible in the intervals.

But about the middle of September, her fits returned in a manner differing from the former, wherein she seemed to fight and struggle with something that was invisible to spectators, and her action appeared as if she had been defending herself from some who were assaulting or attempting to hurt her, and this with such force that four strong men were scarcely able to hold her ; and when any of the people touched any part of her body, she did cry and screech with such vehemence, as if they had been killing her, but could not speak.

Before

Before this time, as she was seized with the trouble, her parents had called for physicians from Paisley, viz. John White, apothecary, a near relation, and afterwards Dr Johnston; who took blood, and applied several things, both at first, and afterwards, without any discernable effect upon the patient, either to the better or worse: and she all the while of these later fits, being afflicted with extraordinary risings and fallings of her belly, like the motion of a pair of bellows! and such strange movings of her body, as made the whole bed she lay on shake, to the great consternation of spectators.

Some days thereafter was an alteration in her fits, so far, that she got speaking, during the time of them; and while she was in the fits, fell a crying, that Katherine Campbell and Agnes Naesmith, were cutting her side, and other parts of her body; which parts were in that time violently tormented. And when the fit was over, she still averred, that she had seen the same persons, doing the same things which she complained of, while under the fit, (it being remarkable that in the intervals she was still as well and sensible as ever) and would not believe but that others presents saw them as well as she! In this condition she continued with some, but not very considerable variation, either as to the fits or intervals, for the space of a month.

After which time she was conveyed to Glasgow, where Dr B isbane, a physician, deservedly famed for skill and experience, did, by Mr Henry Marshall apothecary, apply medicine to her; after which having staid in Glasgow, about ten days, and being brought home to the country, she had near a fortnights intermission. But then her fits returned, with this difference, that she knew when they were coming, by a pain in her left side, which she felt before they came, and in these fits, her throat was prodigiously drawn down toward her breast, and her tongue back into her throat; her whole body becoming

coming stiff and extended, as a dead corpse, without sense or motion; and sometimes her tongue was drawn out of her mouth over her chin to a wonderful length, her teeth setting together so fast upon it, that those present were forced to thrust something betwixt her teeth, for saving her tongue. And it was oft observed that her tongue was thus tortured when she essayed to pray. And in this condition she was for some time, with sensible intervals wherein she had perfect health, and could give a full account of what she was heard to utter while in the fit.

For several days these fits continuing with some variation, her parents resolved to return her to Glasgow, that she might there have the more conveniency of being under the doctor's oversight and care, for further discerning the nature of her trouble, and making use of the most probable natural remedies. But being on her way to her grandmother's house at Northbar, she did thrust or spit out of her mouth parcels of hair, some curled, some plaited, some knotted, of different colours, and in large quantities: And thus she continued to do in several swooning fits every quarter of an hour, both in her passage to Glasgow, which was by boat on Thursday, Nov. 12th: And when she was in Glasgow, for the space of three days ensuing, she puts frequently hair out of her mouth, and in as great quantities as the first day; her former swooning or swooning fits recurring as often throughout the days as before: And thereafter from Monday to Thursday following, she put out of her mouth coal cinders about the bigness of chestnuts, some whereof were so hot that they could scarcely be handled, one of which, Dr. Brisbane being by her when she took it out of her mouth, felt to be hotter than the heat of any one's body could make it. Then for the space of two days in these swooning fits, as formerly, there was
put,

put, or taken out of her mouth, straw in great quantities, though but one straw at once folded up together, which when put out returned to its length was found to be both long and broad, and it was remarkable that in one of them there was a little small pin found. Thereafter were put out of her mouth, bones of various sorts and sizes, as bones of fowls and small bones of the heads of kine, and then some small sticks of candle furr, (a sort of furr in the country, that burns like candle), one of which was about three or four inches long; which, when any upon sight of either bones or sticks took hold off to pull out, they found them either held by her teeth set together upon them, or forcibly drawn back into her throat; particularly Archibald Bannatyne of Kellie younger, observing a bone in her mouth like a duck shank or leg bone, and essaying to pull it out, he declared he found something drawing it back into her throat; so that it took a deal of force to get it pulled out. It is to be noticed, that she never knew how these things were brought into her mouth, and when they were got out of it, she immediately recovered of her fit for that time.

After this, she put out of her mouth some quantity of unclean hay intermixed with dung, as if it had been taken out of a dunghill, which was so stinking that the damsel could not endure the nauseating taste and vile relish those things produced in her mouth, which did necessitate her still to rinse her mouth with water, after the putting of that sort of matter out of it. Then for more than a days space, she put out of her mouth a number of wild fowls feathers; after that a gravel stone, which in the judgment of beholders, had been passed by some persons in a gravel fit, with some small white stones, and a whole nut gall, (wherewith they use to dye and to make ink), together with lumps of candle-grease, and egg shells; during which time, she continued

tinued as formerly in her recurring swooning fits, with some intervals wherein she was in perfect health: of all which there were many famous witnesses, who in that city, (besides those who were continually with her) came frequently to visit her.

It is to be noticed, that the damsel at the time of the putting out of her mouth the sticks above mentioned, being in bed about eight o'clock at night, told, she was to be grievously tormented with fore fits at night, which accordingly fell out; for a little thereafter, she fell into a long swoon, wherein she had no use of any sense, either of hearing, seeing, or feeling; so as though oft times the beholders called to her with a loud voice, moving also and tossing her body, all was to no purpose, and when the Laird of Kelly younger, above-named, to try the truth, gave her a very sore pinch in the arm, she had no sense of it in the time. After recovery from the swoon, but yet continuing in the fit, she fell a reasoning with Katharine Campbel after this manner. 'Thou sit'st there with a stick in thy hand to put in my mouth, but through God's strength thou shalt not get leave: thou art permitted to torment me, but I trust in God, thou shalt never get my life, tho' it's my life thou designest. (And at that time calling for a Bible and candle), said, Come near me Katie, and I'll let thee see where a godly man was given up to Satan to be tormented, but God kepted his life in his own hand; and so I trust in God, thou shalt never get my life, and all that thou shalt be permitted to do unto me, I hope through God's mercy, shall turn to my advantage. This man was rob'd of all, and tormented in body, and had nothing left him but an ill wife. Come near me, Katie, and I'll read it to thee, (and reading that passage of Job, when she came to the place where his wife said to him, *Curse God and die?*) the damsel considering these words a little, said O! what a wife has this been, that bids her goodman Curse God and die? she who
should

have been a comfort to him in his trouble, turned a cross to him?' Then after reading of the chapter to the end, she looks towards the foot of the bed and said, 'Now Katie, what think'st thou of that? Thou seest for all the power the devil got over Job, he gain'd no ground on him; and I hope he shall gain as little on me. Thy master the devil, deceives thee, he is a bad master whom thou servest. and thou shalt find it to thy smart, except thou repent before thou die; there is no repentance to be had after death: I'll let thee see Katie, there is no repentance in hell. And turning over the book, citing Luke Chap. xvi. near the latter end thereof. and reading the same over, said, 'Katie thou seest there is no repentance in hell, for this rich man belought Abraham to testify to his five brethren, that they come not to the place of torment, where he was, but repent and turn to the Lord, for there is no winning out, if once they come there; now Katie, thou heard this, what thinkest thou of it? I'll let thee hear another place which should pierce thy very heart, and turning over the book, said she would read about Adam and Eve; thou knowest Katie, the serpent the devil, thy master, thought to have ruined mankind at the beginning, his malice was so great at that blessed state wherein they were then, seeing himself cast down from all hopes of mercy, used all means possible for him to subvert their happiness, by suggesting to them fair promises, and a prospect of advantage to them before their eyes, in causing them eat that forbidden fruit, whereby they and their posterity fell from that estate wherein they were, and were made subject to God's curse for ever: but God did not suffer them to be at this stance, but of his infinite mercy shewed them a better way, whereby they might have life eternal by revealing to them that blessed promise, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent." Now Katie what thinkest thou of that promise? but have mind of this,

thou'lt

thou'lt get no advantage by it, it's not made to thee, who hast renounced God's service, and taken on with the devil. thou art his slave, thou denied'st this ; but I know thou art a hypocrite : for I remember, when thou wast in my mother's house, thou bought a Catechism upon a pretence to learn to read, to cloak thy sin : Wilt thou hear me, knowest thou the reward of the hypocrite ? I'll let thee hear it ; remember Mr William Gillies was lecturing the other day upon the xxiii. of Matthew, where many a wo is pronounced against the hypocrite, eight dreadful woes here Katie, and some of them belongs to thee : But I'll tell thee more, knowest thou the reward of the hypocrite : they shall be cast into the lake that burns for ever, that's their portion ; dost thou hear this now ? thou turnest thy back to me, when I am telling the truth ; if I were reading a story book, or telling a tale to thee, thou wouldest hear that. Remember it will be thy portion too, if thou do not repent, and confess, and seek mercy.' Again, turning over the book, she read about Pilate, saying, ' Pilate he made a shew of cleansing himself of Christ's blood, he wash'd his hands and declared himself innocent ; but for all his washing, he had a foul heart ; he would not lose his office for the saving of Christ's life ; he knew well enough that Christ was an innocent person ; but he preferred his honour before Christ ; therefore to please the Jews, and to quench the struggling in his conscience, he wash'd his hands, and then delivered Christ to be crucified by them ' Thus she continued for more than two hours space ; reasoning at this rate, and exhorting her to repent. quoting many places of Scripture through the Revelation and Evangelists. And when any offered to pull her Bible from her, she uttered horrid screechs and outcries, saying, ' she would never part with her Bible as long as she lived, she would keep it in spight of all the devils.'

Before

Before we pass from this, it will be needful to give the reader advertisement of some things. 1. That while she called for her Bible and a candle, she neither heard nor saw any of those persons who were then actually and discernably present in the room with her, and that Katharine Campbell, to whom she directed her speech was not discernably present to any other body but herself. And the pinch she got in her insensible fit she found and complained of the pain of it in that part afterward, but knew not how she came by it, nor blamed any of her tormentors for it. 2. That these words set down as spoken by her, were the very same both for words and order) as nearly as they could be gathered and remembered by the hearers, without any addition of their own. 3. That altho' she was a girl of a pregnant spirit above her age, and had much of the Scriptures, and withal had pretty good understanding, above what might be expected of one of her years, of the fundamental principles of religion taught in the Catechisms; yet we doubt not in so strong a combat, the Lord did by his good spirit graciously afford her a more than ordinary measure of assistance, both now and at other times in the like debates.

Sometime after the putting out of her mouth the trash above mentioned, she fell into extremely violent fits, with lamentable crying; four persons being hardly able to withhold her from climbing up the walls of the chamber, or from otherways doing herself hurt, meantime having no power of speech, while in the fit, but her back and the rest of her body grievously pained: in which condition she continued four or five days with the usual sensible intervals: in which she declared, that four men, Alexander and James Andersons, and other two, (of whom she gave particular and exact marks, but knew not their names), were tormenting her. It was observed that many of these she named were known to be persons

sons of ill fame, as these two persons last named were. It is also remarkable, that for some time she knew not the name of the said Alexander Henderson, till one day he came a begging to the door of the house, where the damsel was, whom she seeing, immediately cried out, ' that was he, whom she had seen among the crew.'

After this she fell into other fits, wherein she saw the forenamed persons with some others, and heard and saw several things that past among them. Particularly, she sometimes told when she was to take the fits, how of en she would take them, (which fell out accordingly), with some discourse that were among them relating to herself and others.

About the eighth of December, being brought home again from Glasgow, and having had six or seven days respite from her fits, she afterwards fell into frightful and terrifying fits : the occasion whereof she declared to be, her seeing the devil in prodigious and horrid shapes, threatening to devour her, and then she would fall dead and stiff with all the parts of her body distended and stretched out as a corpse without sense or motion, which fits as they came suddenly on without her knowledge, so she did as suddenly recover and grew perfectly well; and they usually came on when she essayed to pray. In which time also other fits took her more sensibly, she knowing when they were a-coming, how long they would continue, and when they would return; in which fits her eyes strangely altered, and turned in her head to the admiration of spectators, with a continual painful working about her heart, sometimes her joints were complicate and drawn together, and her forehead drawn forcibly about toward her shoulders; which fits she took by first falling into a swoon, and after her violent fits, instantly recovered after the same manner. During this time, the fits altered again as to their times of coming and continuance; in which she sometimes endeavoured

to bite her own fingers, or any thing else that came in her way, also when she saw the persons before-mentioned, one or two of them about her, pointing them out to the persons present with her, though by them unseen, and sometimes declaring that she had hold of them by their cloaths, particularly, December 17. She being in a sore fit, she cried out of several persons that were tormenting her; and being in the bed, grasped with her hands towards the foot of it, and cried out, that she had got a grip of the sleeves of one J P's jerkin (or jacket) which was, as she said, duddie, (that is ragged or tattered) at the elbows: and at that very instant, the damfels mother and aunt heard the sound of the rending or tearing of a cloath, but saw or felt nothing, only found in each of the damfels hands, which were fast closed, when they got them opened, a bit of red cloth, looking as torn off a garment; of which kind of cloth there had been none in the room at that time, nor in the whole house, nor near it, that any knew of. Another particular she told, was, that there was such an one among the crew going to prick her tongue, which thereupon was instantly pulled back into her throat, she lying dumb for a considerable space. Sometimes upon her recovery from her fits, she told that she heard several things spoken and communed among her afflictors, but durst not make them known; because they threatened to torment her after this, or the other manner, if she should make them known, and accordingly, when by her mother or others, she was prevailed with to begin to tell them, instantly the torment fell out as was threatned. She told further, that her tormentors appeared to her usually with lights and strange sorts of candles, which were frightful for her to look to them.

Thus she continued till the first of January 1697, not only in the fits forementioned with some alterations, but fell likewise by swooning, into light fits,

wherein she continued about two or three hours together, sometimes more, sometimes less, with very short intervals, in which fits she did not much complain of pain; but had a great palpitation in her breast, and sometimes in other parts of her body strange and unaccountable motions, which continued in a greater or lesser degree, during the whole time of the fit, wherein she was somewhat light, and not so solid in her mind as at other times, though in the intervals of these, as of all other fits she was sufficiently composed; which fits as all the rest, came suddenly on and went as suddenly off by a swoon or swoerf.

Before we proceed further in the relation, let it be noticed first, that the foresaid Agnes Naismith, being brought by the parents a second time to see the damsel, did, (though not desired) pray for her, *viz.* 'That the Lord God of heaven and earth might send the damsel her health, and try out the verity:' After which, the damsel declared that though the said Agnes had formerly been very troublesome to her, yet, from that time forth, she did no more appear to her, as her tormentor, but on the contrary, as she apprehended, defending her from the fury of the rest. 2. It is further here to be noticed, that the forenamed Katharine Campbell, could by no means be prevailed with to pray for the damsel, but upon the contrary, when desired by some, cursed them, and all the family of Bargarran, and in particular the damsel and all that belonged to her, withal adding this grievous imprecation, 'The devil let her never grow better, nor any concerned in her, be in a better condition than she was in, for what they had done to her.' Which words she spoke before several famous witnesses. 3. That Bargarran having prevailed with the sheriff depute of the shire, to imprison the said Katharine Campbell, she from the time of her imprisonment, never appeared to the damsel; (though formerly she had ordinarily

nary appeared as one of her most violent tormentors) except once or twice, at which times, it was found upon after enquiry, that she was not in the Tolbooth, but either in the jailor's house, or had liberty granted her to go out to church. 4. That at the time when the damsel did put out of her mouth, the hair and other trash as above related, Katharine Campbell being taken into custody, there was found in her pocket a ball of hair of several colours, which was afterwards thrown into the fire, after which time the damsel put no more hair out of her mouth. And it is to be further noticed that she said, she heard among the crew, when tormenting her, that Katharine Campbell made that ball of hair found in her pocket, of the hair of the damsel's head which had been cut when her trouble began, and which did agree in colour, &c. when compared.

Upon the first day of January, about ten o'clock at night, she fell by swoonings into fits differing from the former, in that after the swooning fit was over, she lay quiet, as if she had been dead, making no motion at all with her body in the bed; yet at the same time these present heard her mournful talking, but with a low and hardly audible voice, and repeating several stories in meeter, which they thought to be expressions of the rise and progress of her own trouble; and thus she continued, (still withal naming some of the forementioned persons) till her parents and others offered to rouse her, by touching and moving her body; whereupon instantly she uttered horrid screechs, and cried as if she had been pierced through with swords, and assaulted for her life. After which she fell a singing, leaping, and dancing for a long time, laughing with a loud voice, in an unusual manner, tearing down the hangings of the bed, and pulling off her head cloaths and neck cloaths; in which extravagances she was acted with such a force and strength, that her father and minister though joining their whole strength together,

could not get her dancing and leaping hindered. But after prayer, the minister finding her composed, enquired if she remembered what she had done in time of the fit ; to which she replied, That she distinctly remembered her miscarriages, and in special her singing and dancing, saying withal, that the witches enclosing her in a ring (or circle), and dancing aud singing about her, was the occasion of her dancing, which she then gladly performed with the rest. For some days after she had fits after this manner, with some variation ; in one of which fits, as she was tearing off her head dress-cloaths, her parents resolving to see what would be the event, did make no hindrance to her ; whereupon she stript herself of all her cloaths that were upon her, not leaving so much as her smock upon her body, if that had been permitted.

After this toward or about the 11th Jan. she fell into fits different from the former, in which she was suddenly carried away from her parents and others that were about her, with a sudden flight, and in the first of these (to their great amazement) through the chamber and hall, down a long winding stair toward the Tower-gate, with such a swift and unaccountable motion, that it was not in the power of any to prevent her, her feet not touching to ground, so far as any of the beholders could discern, being heard in her motion to laugh in an unusual manner : but by divine providence, the gate being shut, her motion was stopt till such time as some of the family could overtake her, who endeavouring to carry her back, found her instantly fall as one dead, and become stiff ; in which posture, being brought back to the chamber she lay for a considerable space. And being recovered, she did declare, that there were about the number of nine or ten persons who had carried her away in a shue (as she term'd it, that is, as one swinging upon a rope) wherein she then took pleasure, her feet not at all touching the ground, to her apprehension.

The night following, she was suddenly carried away, as before, from her parents and others who were about her, through the chamber and hall, and sixteen large steps of a winding stair, up toward the top of the house ! where she met with apparitions of strange and unaccountable things, but was carried down again, as she thought, in a shue or swing, asserting after her recovery, that she met upon the stair the number of six women and four men, and by them was carried toward the gate again, where accordingly she was found, and was carried up as formerly, all the parts of her body distended and stiff as one dead ; in which posture she lay for some time, and when recovering, declared, that both now and formerly, she had endeavoured to open the gate, and that those she saw about her were helping her, with a design to get her to the court, to drown her in the well, which she said she heard them saying among themselves, they intended to do, and that then the world would believe she had destroyed herself. It is observable that (these kind of fits continuing with her for some few days) in one of them she was stopt at the gate, and found in the fore-mentioned posture, which was neither locked nor barred ; yet could they not get it opened, though both she and her tormentors endeavoured it.

Before we proceed in the relation, it is not to be omitted that as soon as the damsel's affliction was observed to be extraordinary and preternatural, there were (besides times formerly set apart in a more private way) at the desire of the parents and minister, and by the presbytery's special order, a minister or two appointed to meet one day of every week, at the house of Bargarran to join with the family, the minister of the parish and other good Christians of the neighbourhood, in fasting and praying, which usually fell to be on the Tuesday. And upon Jan. 12th, it being the turn of Mr Patrick Simpson, a neighbour minister, to be there ; when he came to the house he found

found both the minister of the parish, and the brother who was to join with him had been necessarily withdrawn; yet resolved to carry on the work with assistance of three elders, some other good people being present. When he first saw the damsel after he came to the house, he found her under some lesser fits which came and went off quickly, and when prayer began she was quiet and sober during the same, but in time of singing the xciii. Psal. she fell into a sore fit, of greater continuance, first laughing, then making some sound like singing, after that pulling her head cloaths down over her face, and lastly, turning so outrageous in her motions that her father could scarce get her holden with his whole strength, but behoved to ly over upon the bed with her in his arms until the fit abated: after her recovery from which, she was quiet and composed all the time of prayer, and while the minister lectured on Mark ix. from 14, to 30. v. was very attentive, carefully looking in her Bible the Scriptures quoted, so all along both in time of prayer and singing, until the whole religious exercise was ended, and some refreshment after the same taken, at the end of which she told the company, she had something to tell, which she had heard some among her tormentors saying, which she durst not reveal; but the minister and her mother urging her to be free and not to obey the Devil, she said, she would tell it her mother in her ear. Then coming from the other side of the table, and placing herself betwixt her mother and aunt, she began to whisper in her mother's ear; but before she got a sentence fully pronounced, she fell into a violent fit, so as her mother and those next her could scarcely hold her till the violence thereof began to abate, and then her mother told that she was speaking of a meeting and a feast, they had spoke of in the orchard of Bargarran, but was able to say no more, and after recovery, her mother desiring her to tell the rest of it, and she beginning to whisper in her ear, as before, could not get one word uttered till she

she was seized again of a fit, as violent as the former. Whereupon the minister perceiving her torment, desired them to forbear any further troubling of her. Notice, that accordingly there was a feast and meeting in that orchard about that time, of the crew, acknowledged and declared afterwards by three of them, that confessed themselves to have been there, viz. Elizabeth Anderson, James and Thomas Lindsays, they not knowing what either the damsel had spoken, or one of them what another had confest relating thereunto.

About or within a little after this time, she was again suddenly carried from them in the former manner down a stair, which goes off from a corner of the chamber to a cellar just below it, where her brother and sister were providentially gone down a little before, to bring some drink from the cellar, and already near the stair foot, with a lighted candle, which she soon put out; but they crying and holding her by the head-cloaths, quickly discovered to the rest where she was. Upon which Mr Alexander King, minister at Bonnil, (being then in the chamber) made haste down stairs where he found her, but her brother and sister had lost hold of her, she having loosed her head-cloaths and let them go; yet Mr King having caught hold of her, kept her in his arms till a lighted candle was brought, and endeavouring to bring her up stairs, did declare that he found something forcibly drawing her downwards, but he still keeping his hold, she fell stiff, as one dead, upon the stair, and was in this posture carried up and laid in bed, where she lay a considerable space. And when recovered of the fit, she declared that the occasion of her going down stairs with such force, was, that the crew had suggested to her while she was in the light fits, that the devil was in the meal chest in the cellar, and that if she would go down and put out the candle, she might force him out of it. Notice here, first, that when some fits of this kind were ready to seize her,

her, she sometimes gave advertisement thereof to those present with her, giving signs of her earnest desire of their help to prevent her motion, which usually proved to be of good effect, wherein the divine mercy toward her is much to be observed. 2. It is also to be noticed, that about the time when she was in these flying fits, she used to utter horrid shrieks and outcries, not like those of rational creatures; in which time there were heard for three nights together when the damsel was asleep in bed, shrieks and outcries of the same kind in the court, when none of the family was without doors, to the great affrightment of those who heard them, being that they exactly resembled the cries of and shrieks the damsel used to utter in the fits; who afterwards in one of her intervals hearing some of the family talking of those cries and shrieks, and alledging they had been uttered by some wild beast or other, said to them they were mistaken, for it was Margaret. And two others of the name of Margaret, called by the crew their Maggi's, had uttered these shrieks, the Devil having promised to them at that time to carry her out of the house to them, that they might drown her in the well, where there were eighteen more waiting for her.

After this she fell into fretting and angry fits (as she term'd them) in which her humour was cross to all that those about her could say or do, nothing proving to her satisfaction, but every thing displeasing, (her former fits withal now and then seizing her) but when restored to a right composure of mind, she declared that her tormentors about her, did still suggest to her and advise her, to go to such and such remote places of the house alone, and bring with her a snood (which is a head-lace, such as women tie up their hair with) or a cravat or some such thing, promising her rough almonds or some kinds of sweet-meats which they named to her, and for that end, to bring her apron with her to hold them in, and accordingly when seized again with fits of this nature, did resolutely

lutely endeavour to repair to these places, having a snood or cravat and her apron with her, and would suffer none to be in her company, which put her parents and others to a necessity of detaining her by force, and she being thus prevented, uttered hideous screechs and outcries, of which in this sort of fits she was seldom free

Thursday, January 14th, at night, a young lass or girl appeared to her with a scabbed face amongst the rest of her tormentors, telling her she was to come to the house to morrow about ten o'clock, and forbidding her to reveal it.

The next day being January 15th, in the afternoon the damsel earnestly enquired at her mother and the rest of the family what beggars had come to the gate that day, and of what countenance and and visage they were? but the family not knowing her design in such a question, gave no heed unto it; yet she still insisting, and being in company with her mother and another gentlewoman, about four o'clock at night, said to them, she thought she might tell them somewhat (the time being now past) she was forbidden to reveal it; but beginning to tell she presently fell a crying, that she was tormented and pricked through her whole body, yet recovering from the fit, went on and told it; the thing she had to reveal was, that a scabbed faced lass appeared to her yesterday, and was to be at the gate this day at ten o'clock. Whereupon the servants being enquired at, what sort of beggars had been there that day, did declare among others, there had been a beggar wife at the door and a younger woman or lass with her who had scabs on her face, and received their alms.

Jan. 16th and 17th, when recovered of her swooning fits, she put out of her mouth a great number of pins, which she declared J—— P—— had forced into her mouth, and a gentlewoman who had been always one of her most violent tormentors.

Jan.

Jan. 21. her fits altered again, after this manner, she would fall in them with heavy sighs and groans, and hideous outcries, telling those about her that cats, ravens, owls and horses, were destroying and pressing her down in the bed : and at the same time her mother and another gentlewoman, being in the room with her, did declare, that immediately after they had taken the girl out of her bed in this condition, they did see something moving under the bed-cloaths as big as a cat.

The same morning in the interval of her fits, she said, she heard her tormentors whisper among themselves, and suggest to one another, (naming J—— P——, the Andersons and others) that the devil had promised and engaged to them, to carry her over the hall window,, to the end they might drown her in the well which was in the court, and then they said the world would believe she had destroyed herself ; and the same day and several days thereafter when seized with her grievous fits, did attempt with such force to get herself over that window, that spectators could scarce with their whole strength prevent her.

About this time, nothing in the world would so discompose her as religious exercises ; if there were any discourses of God or Christ, or any of the things which are not seen and are eternal, she would be cast into grievous agonies ; and when she essayed in her light fits, to read any portion of the Scriptures, repeat any of the Psalms, or answer any questions of our catechisms (which she could do exactly at other times) she was suddenly struck dumb, and lay as one stiff dead her mouth opened to such a wideness that her jaw appeared to be out of joint, and anon would clap together again with incredible force. The same happened to her shoulder blade, her elbow, and hand-wrists. She would at other times lie in a benumbed condition, and be drawn together as if she had been tied neck and heels, with ropes ; yet on a sudden would

would with such force and violence be pulled up and tear all about her, that it was as much as one or two could do, to hold her fast in their arms : but when ministers and other good Christians (seeing her in such intolerable anguishes) made serious application by prayer to God, on her behalf, she got respite from her grievous fits of this kind, and was ordinarily free of them during the time of prayer, though seized of them before ; and albeit, usually, when ministers began to pray, she made great disturbance by idle loud talking, whistling, singing and roaring, to drown the voice of the person praying.

Particularly Jan. 22. she was more turbulent then at other times she used to be, and continued some space after the minister began to pray, singing and making hideous noise, fetching furious blows with her fist, and kicks with her feet at the minister, uttering reproachful talk of him, and calling him dog, &c. Yet she being composed, and her fits being over before prayer was ended, and the minister when he had done, finding her sober and in a right composure of mind, enquired why she made such disturbance ? To which she replied, she was forced to do it by the hellish crew about her, and that she thought they were none of her own words that she uttered.

Jan. 24th, She said some things relating both to herself and others, had been suggested to her by her troublers ; but that they had threatned to torment her, if she should offer to make them known. And accordingly she essaying to express her mind, was cast into two grievous fits, in which she cried out of violent pains ; all the parts of her body becoming rigid and extended like a corpse, her head was twisted round, and if any offered by force to obstruct, such dangerous motion she seemed to be upon : she would roar exceedingly ; sometimes her neck bone seemed to be dissolved ; and yet on a sudden became so stiff, that there was no moving of it ; and when those grievous agonies were over, she again essayed

to exprefs her mind by writē, but to no purpofe ; for instantly ſhe was caſt into other two very grievous fits, wherein ſhe was ſtruck dumb, deaf and blind, and her tongue drawn a prodigious length over her chin. And when the fits were over, declared, the Anderſons, J— P— the gentlewoman, and I — D— with the reſt of the helliſh crew, ſome of whom ſhe could not name, had been tormenting her in the fits, and that there had been fifteen of them about the houſe all the laſt night, but were now all gone ſave one, who was to ſtay about the houſe till her fits were over. And accordingly her brother and ſiſter did declare, they ſaw that morning a woman in the garden with a red coat about her head, ſitting at the root of an apple-tree ; but Bargarran with moſt of the ſervants being abroad, the matter was not further ſearched.

The ſame day about fix at night, ſhe was ſeized with variety of grievous fits again, in which ſometimes ſhe lay wholly ſenſeleſs and breathleſs, with her belly ſwelled like a drum, as like a woman with child, her eyes were pulled into her head ſo far, that ſpectators thought ſhe ſhould never have uſed them more, ſometimes when ſhe was tying her own neck-cloaths, her enchanted hands would tie them ſo ſtrait about her neck, that ſhe had ſtrangled herſelf if ſpectators had not given ſome relief unto her ; ſometimes ſhe was in hazard of burning herſelf in the fire, offering with violence to throw herſelf into the ſame. Divers times ſhe did ſtrike furious blows at her near relations in her fits, ſhe'd maintain diſcourſe with her tormentors, and aſking queſtions concerning herſelf and others, received anſwer from them, which indeed none but herſelf perceived ; reaſoning with one of them after this manner :

“ O what ail'd thee to be a witch ! thou ſay'ſt it is but three nights ſince thou waſt a witch, O if thou wouldeſt repent, it may be God might give thee repentance, if thou wouldeſt ſeck it and confeſs ; if thou would

would desire me I would do what I could ; for the devil is an ill master to serve, he's a liar from the beginning, he promises what he cannot perform. Then calling for her Bible, she said, I'll let thee see where he promised to our first parents that they should not die ; (and reading the passage, said) now thou seest he is a liar, for by breaking of the commandment, they were made liable to death here, and death everlasting. O that's an uncouth word ; long eternity, never to have an end, never never to have an end ; had not God of his infinite mercy, ordained some to eternal life through Jesus Christ. The devil makes thee believe thou wilt get great riches by serving him ; but come near," and having uttered this word, she lost power of her speech, her tongue being drawn back into her throat ; yet beckning with her hand to the spectre to come near her, and turning over the book, kept her eye upon that passage of holy Scripture, Job xxviii. 18, and pointing with her finger at the place, and shaking her head, turned over the book again ; and recovering her speech, said, " I'll let thee see where God bids us seek and we shall find, and reading over the place said, it is God that gives us every good gift, we have nothing of our own, I submit to his will though I never be better ; for God can make all my trouble turn to my advantage, according to his word, Rom. viii. 28." which place she then read, and thus continued reasoning, for the space of an hour.

Sometimes she cried out of violent pain, by reason of furious blows and strokes, she had received from the hands of her tormentors, the noise of which strokes, bystanders distinctly heard, though they perceived not the hands that gave them.

One night the girl sitting with her parents and others, cried out. something was wounding her thigh ; upon which instantly her mother putting her hand in the damsel's pocket, found her folding knife opened, which had been folded when put in her pocket ;

pocket ; but her uncle not trusting the thing, did again put up the knife, and leaving it folden in her pocket, on a sudden she cried out, as before, the knife was cutting her thigh, being unfolded by means of J. P. and others, as she said : upon which her uncle searching her pocket again, found the knife opened as formerly. This happened twice or thrice, to the admiration of the beholders, though they took special notice that she nor any other visible hand opened it.

Jan. 25th, She was again seized with her swooning stiff fits, with this remarkable variation ; her throat was sometimes most prodigiously extended, and sometimes as strangely contracted ; so that she appeared in palpable danger of being choaked ; and through the violence of pain in her throat, and difficulty of breathing, struggled with feet and hands, as if some had been actually strangling her, and could speak or cry none ; with which kind of fits she was frequently seized for several days, and in the intervals, did declare, that the fore mentioned persons and others, (whom she could not get then named) were strangling her, and that the occasion of her not having power to speak or cry in the fit, was a ball in her throat, which also was visible to spectators ; for they did clearly discern a bunch in her throat (while in the fit) as big as a pullet's egg, which had almost choaked her.

Sometimes she was kept from eating her meat, having her teeth set, when she carried any food to her mouth. Divers times also she was kept from drinking, when at meat ; for no sooner could she taste the drink, but she was in hazard to be choaked thereby, and herself sometimes would have held the cup so hard betwixt her teeth, that it was not in the power of those with her to unloose it. And when any thing had fallen out amiss in the place where she was, as the falling and breaking of a cup, any body's receiving harm and such like, she would
fall

fall a laughing and rejoice extremely ; which kind of jollity was far from the girl's temper when at herself.

Feb. 1st. She essaying to tell some things she had been forbidden by her tormentors to make known, was handled with intolerable torments. At the beginning of her fits, usually she would be kept oddly looking, sometimes toward the chimney, sometimes towards other particular places in the room, but could not always tell what she saw ; yet for ordinary she'd name such and such persons, who, she said, were then come to cast her into fits. And when any desired her to cry to the Lord Jesus for help, her teeth were instantly set close, her eyes twisted almost round in her head, and she was thrown upon the floor with the stiffness, and posture of one that had been some days laid for dead ; and on a sudden recovered again, and would weep bitterly, to remember what had befallen her. The same day, when her fits were over, she said, she now perceived it was by the means of a charm, that such restraints were laid upon her, that she could not tell what the witches had forbidden her to make known, but the charm might be found out (as she said) by searching for it beneath the bed where she lay ; and she having quickly done this herself, found (to the apprehension of spectators) beneath the foresaid bed, an intire egg-shell open in the end, which being instantly thrown into the fire, did melt away after the manner of wax, without any noise as egg-shells use to make when burning in the fire. After this the girl said, she would not now be handled so severely, upon essaying to make known what the witches had forbidden her to tell, only her tongue would be drawn back into her throat, which accordingly happened. She did likewise inform her friends of many things she had not liberty to do, before the charm was found out, particularly, that her tormentors had frequently solicited her to become a witch herself.

and promised her great riches and perfect health also, to induce her thereunto. Which temptation, she, through the infinite mercy of God, still resisted, reasoning with them after this manner : " The devil promises what he cannot perform, and granting he could fulfil his promises, yet I am sure from the Scriptures, hell and the wrath of God will be the final reward of all such as yield to this wickedness." To which she received this reply, (which indeed, none but herself perceived) that, Hell and the wrath of God so much talked of, was not so formidable as was represented. She also said, the witches had importunately urged her to give them her consent, to take away the like of her young sister, who was at that time upon her mother's breast ; which temptation also, she was enabled through the grace of God to resist. She told her parents likewise, there had been a charm laid upon the top of the house, where her young sister was (the child having been sent out a nursing, by reason of the continued affliction of the family) and that the charm had been placed upon the top of the house by pinch'd Maggy, who thereby did design the taking away of her sister's life ; and that this was the cause why she had so often, for some weeks before, desired her mother to bring home her sister, constantly affirming, that the child would daily decay as long as she staid there. Whereupon her parents observing the daily decay of the infant, even to skin and bone, brought her home, where she recovered. The girl being asked how she came to the knowledge of these things ? replied, something speaking distinctly as it were above her head, had suggested these, and other things of that nature to her.

Feb. 2d. The girl being in the chamber with her mother and others, was on a sudden struck with great fear and consternation, and fell a trembling upon the sight of John Lindsay, in Barloch, talking with her father in the hall. She said to her mother, the fore-

foresaid Lindsay had been always one of her most violent tormentors, and that she had been threatned with extreme tortures, if she should offer to name him; whereupon she was desired to go towards the place where he was, and touch some part of his body in a way unknown to him, which having done with some aversion, was instantly seized with extreme tortures in all the parts of her body. After which Lindsay was put to it, and interrogate thereupon; but he giving no satisfying answer, was desired to take the damsel by the hand, which he being unwillingly induced to do, she was immediately upon his touch cast into intolerable anguishes, her eyes being almost twisted round in her head, and all the parts of her body becoming rigid and stiff, fell down in the posture of one that had been laid for some days dead, and afterwards got up in a sudden, and tearing her cloaths, threw herself with violence upon him, and when her fit was over, spectators did also take the damsel by the hand, yet no such effect followed.

About six at night, there came an old Highland fellow to Bargarran, who calling himself a weary traveller, said, he behoved to lodge there that night, but the servants refusing him lodging, gave him something by way of alms. At this time the damsel being in the chamber with her mother and another gentlewoman, said to the best of her apprehension, there was one of the wicked crew in or about the house at that time; whereupon her mother made haste with her daughter down stairs towards the kitchen. And finding there unexpectedly the Highland fellow, whom the girl then accused as one of her tormentors, she desired the Highland fellow to take her daughter by the hand, which he being urged to do, the girl immediately upon his touch was grievously tormented in all the parts of her body. And this falling out in divine providence, Bargarran caused secure him.

The

The next morning, the minister having come to Bargarran to visit the damsel, and the matter being imparted to him, called for the Highland fellow, and having questioned him to and again about this matter, without any satisfying answer, brought the child out of the chamber, covering her face, and almost her whole body with his cloak, and giving signs to the Highland fellow to touch her in this posture, as he had ordered him before, without the damsel's knowledge, which he having done with great aversion, the girl not knowing of his touch, was instantly cast into intolerable agonies as formerly; yet others afterwards touching her, no such event followed. And when her fits were over, she besought the Highland fellow, to allow her the liberty for to discover and tell persons that haunted and molested her, whom he had forbidden her to make known: Upon which the old fellow looking at her with an angry countenance, her mouth was instantly stoped, and her teeth sett: And being desired by those present to speak her mind freely; whether he would or not, at length replied, she fear'd to do it. And when through the importunity of the lairds of Dargavel and Porterfield of Fulwood, and some other gentlemen there present, she essayed to declare her mind, she was seized with her fits again.

Before this time, the lamentable case of the afflicted damsel and family, had been represented to his Majesty's most honourable privy council, who upon serious application made to them, worthily and piously granted a commission to a noble lord and some worthy gentlemen, to make enquiry into the same. By virtue of this commission, some suspected persons were seized; particularly Feb. 4. Alexander Anderson an ignorant, irreligious fellow, who had been always of evil fame, and accused by the afflicted damsel, by a special order from the commissioners for enquiry, was apprehended and committed

to prison ; as was also Elisabeth Anderson his daughter, upon flagrant presumptions of witchcraft ; for the other year, Jean Fulton her grandmother, an old scandalous woman, being cited before the kirk session, and accused for hideous cursing, and imprecating mischief upon several persons, which had been followed with fatal events ; the forementioned Elisabeth Anderson her grandchild, who lived in the house with her, did declare before the session, she had frequently seen the devil in company with her grandmother, in the likeness of a small black man, who usually did evanish on a sudden, within the walls of the house, when any body came to the door. Upon this presumption was the said Elisabeth Anderson seized with her father, and committed to custody ; but at first most obstinately denied accession any manner of way to the sin of witchcraft, until afterwards, when seriously importuned and dealt with in the prison by two gentlemen, did, before she came to Bargarran's house, confess her guilt, without Bargarran's knowledge at that time. And that she had been at several meetings with the devil and witches and amongst others, she did declare her own father, and the forementioned Highland fellow, to have been active instruments of the girl's trouble ; and gave, before she was confronted with him, exact marks of this Highland body, and though she declared she knew not his name ; yet when confronted with him, did accuse him, and affirm he was the person she spoke of.

February 5th, A quorum of the commissioners being met at Bargarran, and the persons then delated by Elisabeth Anderson to have been at meetings with the devil, and active instruments of the damsel's trouble, viz. Alexander Anderson her father, Agnes Nasmith, Margaret Fultoun, James Lindsay alias Curat, John Lindsay alias Bishop, Katharine Campbell were all of them (excepting John Lindsay alias Bishop, was not then apprehended),

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confronted with Katharine Shaw before the lord Blantyre and the rest of the commissioners at Bargarran, and several other gentlemen of note and ministers then present, and accused by her as her tormentors. And they having all severally touched her in presence of the commissioners, she was at each of their touches seiz'd with grievous fits, and cast into intolerable anguishes, others then present also touching her the same way, but no such effect followed. And it is remarkable, when Katharine Campbell touched the girl, she was immediately upon her touch seized with more grievous fits, and cast into more intolerable torments than what followed upon the touch of the other accused persons, whereat Cambell herself being damped and confounded, though she had formerly declined to bless her, uttered these words ; " The Lord God of heaven and earth bless thee, and save thee, both soul and body : " After which the damsel when the fits were over, in which she had been a most pitiful spectacle, did declare, she was now loosed, and that she might freely touch any of the accused persons, or they her after this, without trouble, which accordingly upon trial fell so out, and being enquired how she came to the knowledge of that, answered as formerly in the like case, That something speaking distinctly as it were above her head, suggested this to her ; and likewise usually gave her the knowledge of the names of her tormentors, and places in which they lived.

February 6. The girl being seized with sore fits, something was seen in her mouth, to the judgment of spectators like pieces of orange pills invisibly conveyed into her mouth, which she seemed in her agonies to be chewing, and having got down her throat, as those present apprehended, she did fall down dead and stiff, as if she had been choaked, struggling with her feet and hands, as if at the last gasp, her throat swelling in a prodigious manner ; to the affrightment of spectators, and when recovered

vered, but yet in the light fit ; she'd say, O it was a very sweet orange pill which I got from the gentlewoman, and did constantly affirm the same, declaring also that there had been others there present with the gentlewoman, particularly Margaret L—— or pinch'd Maggie, whose surname she had neither power nor liberty to express, neither durst she offer to do it, lest she should be tormented as was threatened, and always fell out when she essayed to do it, either by speaking or writing, which had appear'd the day before in the presence of the commissioners.

About this time, Thomas Lindsay a young boy, not yet twelve years of age, was seized, upon flagrant presumptions of witchcraft ; he had said before several credible persons, the devil was his father, and if he pleased he could fly in the likeness of a crow upon the mast of a ship, he sometimes caused a plough stand and the horse break the yoke upon the pronouncing of some words and turning himself about wider shins ; that is turning himself round from the right hand to the left, contrary to the natural course of the sun. This he would do upon the desire of any body who gave him a halfpeny. Upon these and the like flagrant presumptions he was apprehended, who at first, though he continued most obstinate in denial ; yet afterwards confessed to the minister in his own house, before famous witnesses, compact with the devil, and that he had received the insensible mark from the devil, which is visible upon his body : as also, that he had been at several meetings with the devil and witches. Where he said were present, his brother James, with others, and particularly those who had been delated by Anderson. This he confessed, with some other wickedness of this kind before he was committed to custody in Bargarran house.

After this Bargarran made diligent search for James Lindsay, elder brother to Thomas, having
been

been all along accused by the afflicted damsel as one of her troublers, whom she called the glei'd or squint eye'd elff (as he was indeed) for that was the name the crew about her gave him, who when he was brought upon the place, though he did at first most obstinately deny his guilt, yet at length through the the endeavours of Mr Patrick Simson, a neighbour minister, ingenuously confessed the guilt he was charged with, and in his confession did agree in every material circumstance with the other two, though he knew not what they had confest, he having not seen them before his confession, nor had he any occasion of information in conference with others thereanent, being immediately brought to the place from the Tolbooth of Glagow, where he had been some vveeks before that time in prison, as a vagabond beggar upon a design to have sent him to foreign plantations.

A more particular account of what they freely confessed and acknowledged before the commissioners, for enquiry, we have for the satisfaction of the reader subjoined to the narrative, with an abstract of the report made by the commissioners to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, concerning the whole affair.

February 11. There was by the presbytery's appointment, a public fast kept upon the damsel's account in the church of Erskine, in which Mr Turner minister of the place began the work with prayer, expounding Rev. xii. from ver. 7. to ver. 13. Mr James Hutchison minister at Killellan took the next turn of prayer, and did preach upon 1 Pet. v. 8. and Mr Simson concluded the work, preaching upon Matthew xvii. 20, 21. where the girl was present all day; but before she came to church that morning, she told, that while she was in one of her fits, the night before, she heard the devil speaking of that public fast, and what ministers were to be there, and that old man Mr James Hutchison should
stumble

stumble, and his peruick fall off as he went up to the pulpit, and all the people should laugh at him, and he should break his neck in going home. And when she came out of the church after the forenoon's work, she said, the devil was a liar; for no such thing fell out as he had threatened. She was all day very quiet in church, although being in some of her light fits, some spectres appeared in time of the public work, which she told of thereafter.

About six at night, there were present in the chamber with the damsel, Mr Simpson with his wife, lady Northbarr and others, discoursing and conferring about her case; and while they were conferring together, she told them, she would gladly make some things known if she durst for her tormentors; and afterwards essaying to do it, was instantly seized with a violent fit; in which she leapt straight up, and appeared as if she had been choaked, so it was as much as one or two could do, to hold her fast in their arms: and when the fit was over, Mr Simpson going about family worship, did expound Psalm cx. and speaking of the limited power of the adversaries of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the latter part of ver. 1. she was on a sudden seized with another grievous fit, in which she put out of her mouth some blood, which rais'd grounds of fear and jealousy in the minds of spectators, that something in her mouth hurting her, had been the occasion of it; yet they could not get her mouth opened, though they used means to open the same, her teeth being closs set. And in the interval of the fit, she being asked, if she found any thing in her mouth, that had been the occasion of her putting out of blood; she replied, she found nothing, nor knew the cause thereof; but opening her mouth, those present found one of her double teeth newly drawn out, but knew not what became of the tooth; for though search was made for the same it could not be found: after which the minister proceeded upon

the same subject, but was again interrupted by her renewed fits, yet closed the exercise with prayer, after which without more trouble, she was taken to her bed.

February 12. Margaret Laing and her daughter Martha Semple, being delated by the three confessants, and accused by the girl to have been active instruments in her trouble, came of their own accord to Bargarran's house, and before they came up stairs, the girl said, she was now bound up, and could not accuse Margaret Laing to her face; and accordingly the girl's mother having desired some of those who were sitting by her, to feel some parts of her body, and they having done it, found her body so stiff and inflexible, that there was no moving of it, and immediately again, found some parts of her body contracted and drawn hard together, as if by cords: after this, Margaret Laing and her daughter, having gone to the chamber to the girl, did in presence of the ministers and others, desire the damsel to come to her, for she would do her no harm, and laying her arms about her, spake very fairly to her, and questioned her, if ever she had seen her or her daughter amongst her tormentors, to which the girl did positively reply, she had frequently seen her daughter; but declined through fear to accuse herself, saying faintly, No. After which Margaret and her daughter returning into the hall, and the minister enquiring at her why she said No, seeing she had accused her before, she answered, take me contrary, upon which she was seized with a grievous fit; yet after her recovery, being urged again by those present, to tell her mind freely, whether or not Margaret Laing was one of her tormentors, the child thereupon assaying to say Yes, and having half pronounced the word, was cast into unexpressible anguishes; and again, in the interval of the fit, she assayed to express the same thing, and saying the word, Tint (that is lo!) was on a sudden

sudden struck with another fit, and when the fit was over, and the child returned to the chamber, Margaret Laing who was sitting near the hall door, spoke these words after her, ' The Lord bless thee, and ding (that is beat or drive); the devil out of thee.' A little after which words, Margaret going down stairs, the damsel came to the hall, and said, her bonds were now loos'd, and that now she could accuse Margaret Lang to her face, and declared the occasion of her being so restrain'd and bound up while Margaret was present, was her letting fall a parcel of hair at the hall door as she came in; being a charm made by her for that end, which also had been the occasion of her uttering the word, Tint, in the former fit: and accordingly a parcel of hair had been found at the hall door, after Margaret Lang had gone straight from the hall to the chamber. which immediately was cast into the fire and burnt. And its remarkable, that it could be attested, that there was no hair, or any other thing else in that place before Margaret Lang came in, and the girl being enquired what way she knew Margaret Lang had laid the forementioned charm upon her, replied, something speaking distinctly to her as it were above her head, had suggested that to her.

About eight at night she was severely handled in her fits, much after the former manner, and while she was in her swooning fits, there was seen in her mouth a pin, vvherevvith she seemed almost choaked, but by divine providence it was with great difficulty got out. After this she was somewhat composed, and did not much complain of pain; but was distinctly heard to entertain discourse with some invisible creature about her, and the replies given by her, and heard by those who took care of her, gave them ground to conclude she was tempted to set her hand to a paper then presented to her, with promises that upon her yielding thereunto, ' she should never be troubled any more; as also that she should

get sweet meats, a drink of sack, a bony handsome coat with silver lace :’ She was also distinctly heard say, resisting the tempter, ‘ Thou art a filthy sow, should I obey thee ; this was not the end of my creation, but to glorify God and enjoy him for ever ; and thou promisest what thou cannot perform. art thou angry at me for saying thou sow, what should I call thee, but thou filthy sow ; art thou not the filthy devil for as brave as thou art with thy silver and gold lace, would’st thou have me renounce my baptism. Dost thou promise to give me brave men in marriage, and fine cloaths, and perfect health, if I should consent thereunto ? Dost thou say my baptism will do me no good, because thou alleigest he was not a sufficient minister that baptized me ? thou art a liar, I’ll be content to die before I renounce my baptism, O through the grace of God I’ll never do it.’ And thus she continued reasoning, being both blind and deaf, for the space of two hours ; and when she came to herself, did declare, it was the devll who first presented himself, tempting her in the shape of a sow, to renounce her baptism, as is hinted ; and that he did chide her when she called him thou Sow, and immediately appeared to her again, in the shape of a brave gentleman, as having gold and silver lace on his cloaths, still urging her to renounce her baptism, which temptation she through the special assistance of the grace of God, effectually resisted : She also said, that it had been suggested to her by the Spirit, speaking to her, as it were above her head, after the combat with the tempter was over, that one of her tormentors would be at the house the morrow- -

February 13. She was seized with a sore fit about twelve o’clock of the day, in which she continued for more than two hours space, both deaf and blind. Those in the room with her, crying to her with a loud voice, and pinching her hands and other parts of her body ; but all to no purpose. And in this posture

posture was hurried to and fro with violence through the room : And when any body by force offered to hinder the dangerous and violent motion, she seemed to be upon, she would roar exceedingly, sometimes she desired her father and mother and others to come and take her home, (supposing herself not to be in her father's house) ; when the girl was in this deplorable condition, Margaret Roger, who lived in the neighbourhood, came to the house of Bargarran, enquiring for the lady ; and having come up stairs, the parents of the damsel remembering what the girl had said the night before, that one of her tormentors was to come that day to the house, brought Margaret Roger to the chamber where the girl was, and so soon as she entered the door : the damsel though she could discern none of these who were present with her, nor answer them when they cried to her ; yet presently saw her, and ran towards her, crying, ' Maggi, Maggi, where hast thou been ? wilt thou take me with thee, for my father and mother have left me.' Whereupon spectators being astonished, caused Margaret speak to the child, which she having done, the girl distinctly heard and answered her every word. After this, the three confessants were also brought up to the chamber where the damsel was, and so soon as they entered the door, she ran also to them laughing, as if she had been overjoyed, answering them when they spoke to her : and Margaret Roger there present, being confronted with the confessants : they did declare, that she had been at meetings with the devil and witches in Bargarran orchard, consulting and contriving Christian Shaw's ruin.

The Lord's day following, being February 14. After some short intervals, she was again seized with her fits, in which she said, ' Margaret Lang and her daughter Martha Semple, were tormenting her and cutting her throat ;' which words, through violence of pain, and difficulty of breathing, she uttered with

a low and hardly audible voice, and upon the naming of Margaret Lang and her daughter, she was tossed and dreadfully tormented in all the parts of her body, being made sometimes to stand upon her head and feet at once, sometimes her belly swelling like a drum; and falling again in a sudden, and sometimes her head and other parts of her body were like to be shaken in pieces, so that spectators feared she would never speak more. And when the fit was over, she declared, Margaret Lang said to her, when in the fit, 'That she would give her a tossy,' (which imports hot and severe handling) for naming her.

At this time she was seldom free of her light fits, which for most part were all the respite and ease she had from the unexpressible agonies she endured in her more grievous fits; unless when asleep: and while she was in these fits, no body could persuade her to pray, yet when in a right composure of mind and perfectly at her self, she would weep bitterly to remember this, expressing her fears, lest that might be any evidence God would forsake her.

February 18. About two in the afternoon, she being in the light fit, said, 'The devil now appeared to her in the shape of a man;' whereupon being struck with great fear and consternation, was desired to pray with an audible voice, 'The Lord rebuke thee Satan;' which she essaying to do, instantly lost power of speech, her teeth being sett, and her tongue drawn back into her throat, and she essaying again, was immediately seized with another grievous fit: in which her eyes being twisted almost round in her head, she fell down as one dead, struggling with her feet and hands, and again getting up on a sudden, was hurried with violence too and fro through the room dead and blind; yet was speaking with some invifible creatures about her, saying, 'with the Lord's strength thou shalt neither put straw nor stick into my mouth.' After this, she cried in a pitiful manner, the bumbee has sting'd me,
then

then presently sitting down and loosing her stockings, put her hand to that part which had been nip'd or pinch'd, whereupon spectators did visibly discern the lively marks of nails of fingers deeply imprinted on that same part of her leg. And when she came to herself, she did declare 'That something speaking to her as it were above her head,' told her it was M. M. in a neighbouring parish, (naming the place) 'that had appeared to her, and pinch'd her leg in the likeness of a bumbee.' She likewise did declare, that the forementioned M. M. 'instantly after this had been suggested to her, appeared in her own shape, and likeness as she used to be at other times.' Shortly after this, being still seized with her light fit, she whispered in her mother's ear, 'The devil was now appearing to her again in the shape of a gentleman :' and being instantly seized with her fits, in which she was both blind and deaf, was distinctly heard arguing after this manner, 'Thou thinkest to tempt me to be a witch; but through God's strength thou shalt never be the better; I charge thee, in the name of God to be gone and thy papers too, in the Lord's strength I'll not fear thee, I'll stand here and see if thou can come one step nearer me, I think thou fearest me more than I fear thee.' Then turning herself again, she was hurried to and fro with violence through the room, as formerly, saying, 'she was bitten or pinch'd very sore in the hand with teeth, and nip'd with fingers about twenty four times;' which constrained her to horrid screechs, and outcries at every time she received them, shewing and pointing with her finger to these parts of her arm and leg which had been pinch'd and bitten, but neither saw nor heard any about her. And accordingly spectators did visibly discern the evident marks of teeth and nails of fingers upon her arms and legs. In this posture the girl continued from two to five in the afternoon, and when her misery was over, she said, 'M. M, told her in the fit, that Margaret

Lang

Lang then in custody, had ordered her to handle her after that manner. And that Margaret Lang had a commanding power over her.'

Friday and Saturday thereafter, being Feb. 19th and 20th, she was frequently seized with the fore-mentioned fits, and being violently bitten, pinched and nipped, in her hands, neck, and other parts of her body, so that the clear marks of the nails of fingers and steads of teeth, both upper and lower, with the spittle and flaver of a mouth thereupon, was evidently seen by spectators. About this time when seized with her blind and deaf fits, a crooked fellow appeared to her, having his feet deformed, his two heels wrying inward toward one another, and the foreparts of his feet outward from one another, so that the broadside of his feet moved foremost, and upon the appearing of this fellow her feet were put in the very same posture, during the time he tormented her. It is to be noticed, that there is a fellow in one of the neighbouring parishes, whose feet are exactly in that manner deformed, who has been a long time of ill fame, and given up by the confessants, to have been at meetings with the devil and the rest of the crew, in Bargarran orchard.

Saturday, being Feb. 20th, the whole family being gone to bed, they had left a great quantity of peets or turf, beside the hall-chimney, which the next morning they saw them burnt to ashes, though there had been no fire in the chimney nor near them, so that the plaister and stones of the wall, where the peets or turf lay, were in a great part turned to rubbish, through the violence of the fire, but no other damage followed, the hall-floor being laid with stones, and the peets lying within the bosom of a large chimney brace.

Feb. 27th, The chamber fire having been covered with ashes in the chimney, when the family went to bed, the next morning though a good quantity of ashes had been left, yet they found a clean swept

svvept avway, and no appearance of ashes nor fire there at all ; albeit none in the family that night nor next morning had been there after the fire vvas gathered, before this vvas observed.

In fits of this kind she continued for several days thereafter, naming the forementioned crooked fellow, J. R. and M. A. living in the neighbouring parishes, vvvhich tyvo vvomen vvvere delated, by the three confessants to be amongst her tormentors, and particularly upon the Lord's day, being Febr. 21st, and the Monday following, the said J. R. appearing to her grievously vexed her, withal telling her she was commissioned so to do. The gentlewoman M. M. having a pain in her head at that time, and so not able to come forth. Concerning which, it is worthy of remark, that the damsel declared M. M. to have appeared to her about two days thereafter, with her head bound up with a napkin or handkerchief, in which like habit or posture, she did not formerly appear.

Upon Thursday thereafter, being Feb. 25th, she continued in the former fits, weeping bitterly and complaining of pain in both her sides ; she also told in the interval of her fits, that she was that night to be in very grievous and sore fits, her tormentors being resolved to choak her, by putting pins in her mouth, which (though she emptied herself of all that were in her cloaths) yet accordingly came to pass; in which she was both blind and deaf, leaping up and down in an extraordinary manner, pulling down whatever came to her hand ; and this continued for some days, putting out of her mouth a great quantity of small broken pins, which she declared, J. R. had forced into the same.

Upon the Lord's day, being the last of Feb, about five o'clock in the afternoon, she fell into grievous fits, accompanied with hideous or loud laughing, leaping, and running with violence to and fro, and thereafter wept sore, crying out of pain, that a little
High-

Highland man (whom she knew to be such by his habit and speech) was now breaking her leg ; which (because of pain) she scarce could get told in the fit, and putting her hand to the part of her leg affected, spectators untying her stocking, distinctly observed a sore bruise in her shin bone ; which, when touched, did so pain her, that she uttered horrid screechs and cries ; and when recovered, did declare, that the little Highland fellow had given her that bruise. After this, she put out of her mouth a crooked pin, by which she told the foresaid Highland fellow having forced it into her mouth, designed to choak her.

The first eight days of March, she continued in her former fits, with little variation, putting out of her mouth a great number of small pins, often fainting and falling, as dead, upon the ground on a sudden, again struggling with feet and hands ; by all which, her natural spirits were much weakned and exhausted ; sometimes also she essayed to go into the fire. About this time, when ministers and other Christians met in the family for prayer, she used at the beginning of the work to make great disturbance, particularly, March 2d, which day, being set apart for fasting and prayer in the family, prayer begun, she was for some time very composed, until of a sudden, a strong blast of wind forced open the windows of the room, upon which she was instantly seized with a violent fit, the minister in the very same time, supplicating God, that she might be delivered from Satan's bonds ; in which fit she being both blind and deaf as to all, except her tormentors, was hurried with violence to and fro the room, sometimes falling down as one dead, sometimes singing and making a hideous loud noise, sometimes naming M. M. and others ; who, she said, were there present, afflicting and tormenting her, withal, naming the particular places of the room, where she saw them standing and sitting. After all which, when recovered out of the fit, she told that a gentlewoman and a little

little Highland fellow, came in with the blast of wind which forced open the windows. This falling out upon the Tuesday, she continued in the light fit without any intermission, till the sabbath thereafter, not being seized with any of her fore fits : and having gone to church the Lord's day following, was perfectly well for the most part of the day ; yet affirmed she saw Janet Wagh and others in one of the windows of the church, though invisible to all others.

Tuesday, being March 9th, her mother and Margaret Campbell her cousin, took the damsel to walk with them in the orchard ; and returning back to the house, her mother entering the tower gate first, the damsel being at her back, and Margaret Campbell tarrying a little while at the gate ; her mother going into the kitchen, supposed they had been with her, whereas the damsel was of a sudden, carried away in a flight up stairs with so swift and unaccountable a motion, that her absence was not in the least suspected ; her mother turning and missing her, cried, whether is Christian and Margaret Campbell ? and instantly running up stairs to look for the damsel, heard a noise, and following the same, found the damsel leaping and dancing upon one of the stairs, being seized with fits, out of which when she had recovered, she told, that J. P. had carried her away from her mother's back as she entered the kitchen door, (her not touching the ground to her apprehension) and that with a design to strangle her in an high wardrobe with ropes, on which the linen used to dry, but that the said J. P. could carry her no further than the place where she was found, and did therefore leave her in such a violent fit.

Upon the Lord's day thereafter, being March 14. her fits again altered, in that her mouth and nose were prodigiously distorted and turned about while in the fit, her face being thereby strangely and horribly deformed. The same day she being in church in the forenoon, her glove falling from her, the same was again

gain put into her hand by some invisible agent, to the amazement of beholders. To which we add here, as that which is worthy of remark. that all this while an invisible being, haunted her on all occasions, suggesting many things unto her, both concerning herself and others; but yet never heard by any but herself.

The same day betwixt sermons, she told that she was to be violently tormented in the afternoon; which accordingly came to pass, and when in her fits she named one J. K. a woman living in the neighbouring bounds of whom she said, that she had seen her in the church. As also that she was master of these kind of fits she was afflicted with; withal asserting, that if the said J. K. were not sent for, she would grow worse and worse; which her parents finding to be true, sent in the evening for the said J. K. threatening her, if the damsel was any further troubled with her, that she should be apprehended as others had been; after which the damsel being in the mean time in a very fore fit, the forementioned J. K. prayed (though not desired) that God might send the damsel her health; whereupon the damsel was no more troubled with these kind of fits; but did instantly recover, by falling into a swoon as she used to do before recovery out of any of her fits.

Tuesday, being March 16th, she was again seized with her other kind of fits, all the parts of her body being stiff and rigid; and sometimes in them was heard conversing with the gentlewoman (as she called her) vindicating herself of what the gentlewoman alledged against her, viz. That she had accused some innocent persons as her tormentors. To which the damsel distinctly replied, That she was a liar, saying, it was you yourself and none other ever mentioned any such thing.

Thus she continued until the Friday thereafter, being never free of the light fits, now and then also falling into swoons, and appeared to be almost choaked by the means of some charms and enchantments,
 invisibly

invisibly conveyed into her mouth ; which to the apprehension of spectators, were as if it had been pieces of chesnuts, orange pills, whites of eggs, or such like, all which were distinctly observed, when occasionally in the fit she opened her mouth ; and when spectators essayed to get them out, she kept her mouth and teeth so close, that no strength could open the same. When recovered out of the fit, she told L. M. a woman living in the neighbouring bounds had put them in her mouth.

Upon Friday, being *March 19th*, she was violently tormented with sore fits, in which her neck was distorted and bended back like a bow towards her heels, struggling with feet and hands, sometimes stiff, blind and deaf, putting out of her mouth a great number of small pins ; which she said the forementioned L. M. had put in her mouth. And about six o'clock that same night being violently tormented, fell a crying, That if the gentlewoman was not apprehended that night, it would be in vain to apprehend her to morrow : For, said she, I have much to suffer at her hands betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the morning. After this the damsel lifting up her eyelids with her hands, and looking upwards, said, What art thou that tells me that the sheriff and my father are coming here this night ? After which the sheriff, her father and James Guthrie macer to the justiciary court instantly came up stairs, to the amazement of those who remembered what the damsel just now had said. The damsel continuing all this while blind and deaf ; yet was heard (the fore-said persons being present) distinctly to discourse with some invisible being near to her, saying, Is the sheriff come, is he near me ? and stretching out her hand to feel if any were about her, the sheriff put his hand in her's notwithstanding of which, she said to the invisible being discoursing with her, ' I cannot feel the sheriff, how can he be present here ? or how can I have him by the hand as thou sayest, seeing I

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feel

feel it not ? Thou sayst he hath brown coloured clothes, red plush breeches with black strips, flowered musling cravat, and an embroidered sword-belt ; thou sayst there is an old gray haired man with him, having a ring upon his hand ; but I can neither see nor feel any of them ; what are they come to apprehend the gentlewoman ? Is that their errand indeed ? And the girl being enquired how she came to the knowledge of these strange things ; replied as formerly in the like case, something speaking distinctly as above her head, suggested them to her. It is very observable here, that the foresaid persons had that same afternoon got an order from the commissioners of justiciary to apprehend the same gentlewoman, and were so far on their way to put it in execution against the next morning ; but being witnesses to the damsel's trouble, and hearing what she had told, viz. That a delay in that matter would prove to her exceeding dangerous, they went straight on in their journey that same night to the gentlewoman's habitation, and put their warrant to execution.

As the damsel still continued to be violently tormented, sometimes lying with her neck and other parts of her body upon the ground ; as if they had been disjointed, sometimes also essaying to throw herself into the fire. About ten o'clock the same night, she continuing in the fit, her father (who had not gone with the sheriff) beginning to read a part of the word of God, she repeated the words after him though blind and deaf in the mean time, which made spectators apprehend, that the damsel had the sense of hearing in these sorts of fits, at least when the word of God was read : To find out the truth of which, her father did cease from reading, which though he did ; yet the damsel continued to repeat the following verses of the chapter, while none in the room were reading, and she herself had no book ; withal being heard say to some invisible being about her,

Wilt

Wilt thou teach me a part of the Old Testament as well as the New.

The damsel still continuing in the forementioned fits, said unto the persons present, that now it was twelve of the clock ; oh it is now past twelve, sometimes lying as one dead, through the violence of pain and decay of her natural spirits, sometimes again recovering. essayed to express somewhat, but could not ; withal putting out of her mouth a great quantity of crooked pins, and the parts of her body being prodigioussly distorted, she complained of great pain : Thus she continued until half an hour after twelve o'clock at night ; when on a sudden she recovered, to the admiration of beholders, telling them, she might now go to bed, being told by some invisible informer, that the sheriff and the other gentleman, to wit the macer, had now entered the gentlewoman's house, and accordingly going to bed, was no further troubled that night. It is worthy of remark here, that the sheriff and macer at their return, did declare, that it was just about that time they entered the gentlewoman's house, which the damsel condescended upon.

Saturday, being March 20th, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, she was of a sudden seized with fits falling down as one dead, her eyes quite closed, sometimes again opening and turning in her head, she saw nor heard none about her, but was hurried with violence to and fro through the room, crying with a loud voice when any by force would hinder her motion. She being in this posture and deprived thus of her senses, James Lindsay one of the three confessants was brought into the room, who no sooner entered the door but was perceived by her, and she smiling ran towards him, saying, Jamie, where hast thou been this long time, how is it with thee ? and answered him distinctly to every word he spake, though at the same time she neither heard nor saw any other in the room, nor could converse with them al-

beit, tried by several experiments for that purpose, particularly a tobacco box being held before her eyes by a person present in the room, she did not see it ; but as soon as it was put in the hand of James Lindsay she instantly enquired at him, Where he had got that box ; she continuing in this posture, the sheriff, her father being present, thought it fit to confront M. M. who was now come thereby to try if the damsel would hear or see her as she had done James Lindsay, which accordingly they did : and as soon as M. M. entered the door, the damsel (though still in the fit) presently smiled and said, I see the gentlewoman now, though formerly she had never seen her personally, but only her spectre in the fits. She likewise heard her when she spoke to her, answering distinctly some questions proposed by M. M. such as, When it was she had seen her tormenting her ? To which she answered, she had seen her the other night in her fits, and further challenged her, Why she had restrained her from making known the Highland wife's name, as also saying unto her, Thou pretends thou knowest not what I say, thou knowest well enough. Upon all which, the gentlewoman on a sudden (without being desired) prayed, That the Lord might send the damsel her health, saying, ' Lord help thee poor dast child and rebuke the devil.' Which words were no sooner uttered than the damsel fell down as dead, and being in this posture carried to another room, instantly recovered of the blind, deaf, and also of the light fit, becoming perfectly well and continued so for some time, and being thus recovered, and M. M. removed into another room, the damsel was enquired at, whom she had seen in the last fit ; to which she replied, she had seen the gentlewoman, though in the mean time she was altogether ignorant of the gentlewoman's ever being personally present in the room with her.

The same day the commissioners of justiciary having come to Bargarran, M. M. and the damsel were again

again confronted, upon which the damsel (being in the light fit) upon the first look of the forementioned M. M. was suddenly seized with sore fits, out of which when she recovered, she accused her as being one of her most violent tormentors, particularly, mentioning such and such times, in which she had in an extraordinary manner afflicted her, as also what words she spoke in her hearing while in the fit, and which is yet more remarkable, did question the gentlewoman if she did not sometime in Decem. last, when she was tormenting her, remember how she went away from her in great haste, saying, she could stay no longer, being obliged to attend a child's burial at home. In confirmation of which we are very credibly informed, that W. R. a near neighbour of her's had a child buried that same day, and that the gentlewoman came not in due time to attend the corpse to the burial place, but the corpse being near to the church yard ere she reached the house from whence they came, she returned again to her own lodging, and so did not accompany the burial at all.

The Lord's day following, being March 21st, she fell into swooning fits complaining of no pain, except near to her heart, falling down as dead, not only when the fits seized her, but also when she recovered, sometimes singing after an unusual manner, withal, informing spectators that J. G. constrained her to that kind of music, her own lips not at all moving in the mean time, which beholders saw to be true, only her tongue, for preventing of which, she frequently put her hand into her mouth. And at this time when either she herself, or those about her, offered to read any part of the Scripture, she was violently tormented, declaring if she did but so much as hear the word of God read that day, she would certainly be extremely tortured; in confirmation of which, when some essayed to read Heb. xi. 2. 4. 6. Isa. xl. Psal. iii. she uttered horrid screechs and out-

cries, complaining that she was pinched, in evidence of which, the prints or marks of the nails of fingers were distinctly seen on her arms, and being thus pinched or bitten for several times with great violence and pain, the skin itself was seen to be torn from off those parts of her arms and fingers, where the prints of the teeth and nails were observed; so that from the deepness of the wounds, the foresaid parts affected fell a bleeding, which blood was both seen and handled by spectators. Moreover the damsel, while in this sad and lamentable condition, seemed to be extremely affected and oppressed with sore sickness, as one in a fever, crying sometimes, to remove these dead children out of her sight; which she frequently repeated, from six to nine in the morning, and she still continuing the rest of the day, it was observed that some charms and incantments were put in her mouth, as formerly, of which the damsel being very sensible, fell down on a sudden on the ground, putting her hand to some spittle which she had put out of her mouth, and lifted some trash which she again cast down to the ground, it making some noise, but yet neither seen in her spittle nor elsewhere by spectators, though while in her mouth, they observed something like orange pills, whites of eggs, and pieces of chesnuts.

Monday, being March, 22d, the forementioned L. M. or J. G. came to Bargarran's house, and being confronted with the damsel, questioned her if ever she had seen her in any of her fits, withal alledging that she, viz. L. M. or J. G. could be none of her tormentors, because the damsel was not now seized with a fit, though looking upon her as she used to be, when she looked upon any of her other tormentors when confronted with them; upon which the damsel being for sometime silent, L. M. or J. G. did again propose the same question to her; to which the damsel distinctly replied Yes, upon which

L.

L. M. replied, perhaps you have seen the devil in my shape.

As to the conference there as several things exceeding remarkable, as first, that the damsel upon her answering, yes, was immediately seized with a fit. 2dly, That however after Katherine Campbell had touched the damsel in presence of the commissioners, upon the 5th, of Feb. last, she had ever since that time freedom to touch any of her tormentors without being seized with her fits, as has been hinted, yet true it is, that in the room of that charm a new one took place, viz. when any time she looked upon her tormentors in the face, at the very first look she was seized with her fits; which charm she declared was laid by means of the forementioned L. M. or J. G. and also taken off again by her that very morning before she came to visit the damsel, and this she said, was suggested to her by some invisible being, speaking distinctly as it were above her head; and that therefore the damsel now had freedom to look L. M. in the face without being seized with fits, which for a considerable time before she could not do when confronted with any of her tormentors. 3dly, It is yet more observable, that in the same morning before ever L. M. came to visit the damsel, it was told by the damsel to several persons in the family, that L. M. had taken off that charm, of her being seized with fits when looking any of her tormentors in the face; but withal, that she had laid on another in its room, viz. that as soon as the damsel should by words confer with any of her tormentors, so soon should she be seized with a fit, which accordingly was verified when she spoke to L. M. or J. G.

Tuesday, being *March 23d*, the damsel being asleep in the bed with her mother, about three o'clock in the morning was, on a sudden awakned (having for sometime struggled in her sleep) in great fear and consternation, and being seized with her blind, deaf
fits,

sits, took fast hold of her mother, declaring to her father and her, that the devil was standing near to the bed assaulting her, upon which she cried suddenly : “ God Almighty keep me from thy meetings. I’ll die rather than go to them, I’ll never, through the grace of God, renounce my baptism ; for I’ll certainly go to hell if I do it ; thou says I’ll go to hell however, because I am a great sinner ; but I believe what the word of God saith ; though I have many sins, yet the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin ; and I will not add that great wickedness to my other sins, which thou art tempting me to do. ’Tis no wonder thou lie to me, seeing thou wast bold to lie in God’s face. I know thou art a liar from the beginning ; and the red coat the promist me, I know thou canst not perform it. And although I should never recover, I’m never resolved to renounce my baptism. It is God that hath kept me all this time from being a witch, and I trust, he will yet by his grace keep me ; not because of any thing in me, but of his own mercy ; and that he who hath kept me hitherto from being deveoured by thee, I hope will yet keep me.’ This conference continued near the space of an hour, her father and mother and others being ear witnesses to the same. And after recovery the damsel declared that it was the devil, who (in the shape of a naked man with a shirt, having much hair upon his hands and his face like swine bristles) had appeared to her tempting her as aforesaid.

Untill Sabbath following she continued in the light fit, but withal every morning and evening was still seized with her fore fits continuing still to name *M. M.* (who was at this time set at liberty) ; the fore-mentioned *L. M. E. T.* an Highland wife, and others as being her tormentors. It is more than remarkable here, that *M. M.* being set at liberty upon bail, the very day after she went home, she appeared again to the damsel tormenting her in her fits, and continued so to do several days thereafter, par-

ticularly upon the Saturday, being March 27. after she was set at liberty ; the which day, the damsel was heard name her in the fits, and say to her, ' Wilt thou say God help me poor mad or foolish child, as thou saidst the other day before the judges : art thou wishing the devil to take me ; where is the habit thou was cloathed in the other day ? '

On Sabbath morning, being March 28th, the damsel through God's great mercy towards her, was perfectly recovered, both of all her sore and light fits ; becoming as well, sensible, and composed as ever.

If it shall be questioned, how the truth of all these strange things is attested ? There is none of those particulars mentioned in the Narrative, but had in the first draught the witnesses insert at the end of every particular paragraph, and attested before the commissioners for enquiry at Renfrew. by the subscriptions of the respective witnesses. But seeing the placing of them so now, would have occasioned the repetition of several persons names over and over again, and would have made this narrative swell too much in bulk ; therefore we judged it fittest now to set down the names altogether at the end of the Narrative ; and the rather, that seeing these things felt not out in a private corner ; but thousands in this country have been eye and ear witnesses thereof to their admiration and raising of their sympathy, and been fully convinced beyond all debate of a diabolical influence upon the affliction of the damsel : we shall now make mention of a few, viz. Beside the father, mother, grandmother, and nearest relations of the damsel, and servants of the family, who were always present with her in her fits ; such of the commissioners for inquiry and of justiciary as had occasion to be on the place of the events, particularly the lord Blantyre, Mr Francis Montgomery of Giffen, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Sir John Houston of that ilk, Alexander Porterfield of that ilk, the laird
of

of Blackhall younger, the laird of Glanderstone, the laird of Craighs, Porterfield of Fulwood, John Alexander of Blackhouse, Mr Semple sheriff of Renfrew : and several other honourable persons of good sense and prying wits ; such as the noble earl of Marshall, the laird of Orbiston, the laird of Kilmar-nock, the laird of Meldrum, the laird of Bishop-ton, elder and younger, Gavin Cochrane of Craigmure, William Denniston of Colgrain, Dr Matthew Brisbane &c. and many ministers, who kept days of humili-ation and prayer weekly to the family, and some-time in the parish church with the congregation, viz. Mr James Hutchison minister of the gospel at Kilel-lan, Mr Patrick Simpson at Renfrew, Mr James Stir-ling at Kilbarchan, Mr Thomas Blackwal at Paisley, Mr James Brisbane at Kilmacolm, Mr Robert Taylor at Houston ; and of neighbouring presbyteries Mr Neil Gillies, Mr James Brown, Mr John Gray mini-ster of the gospel at Glasgow, while the damsel was there ; Mr John Ritchie minister at Old Kilpatrick, Mr Alexander King of Bonnil, Mr Archibald Wal-lace at Cardross, Mr John Anderson at Drymmon, Mr Andrew Turner minister of the place, who was frequently there : besides Mr Menzies of Cammo, and Mr Grant of Cullen, advocates, who were eye and ear witnesses to several important passages of the damsel's affliction, and the convincing evidences of its flowing from the operation of the devil, and his instruments. The truth whereof is further admini-culat by the progress and issue of the trial, at which were present at several occasions, not only Sir John Shaw of Greenock, commissar Smollet at Bonnil, Mr James Stewart advocate, who were concerned in the commission, with these others beforementioned : but also great confluence of several nobility and gen-try out of the country, such as the earl of Glencairn, the lord Kilmars the lord Semple, &c.

And now we are sure, that after all the pregnant evidences of the truth of this relation, as to matter of fact

fact they must be persons very hard of belief that can allow themselves to deny credit thereunto : and must needs conclude, that there is nothing credible in the world that ever hath been delivered to mankind or posterity ; and that they resolve to believe nothing though never so fully attested which they do not see with their own eyes and perhaps there are some hardened in their prejudicate conceits that will not believe even these so far as they may have influence to convince them of their errors ; but wisdom is, and will be justified of all her children. And among all ingenious and sober persons. We are hopeful this Narrative, (which plainly relates things as they fell out without any kind of disguise), will obtain such entertainment as it is truly designed for, viz. That we be hereby more and more confirmed in the faith of the being of God and invisible Spirits, and admire and adore the wonderful works of God in the depths of his judgments, and that there is really a hellish hierarchy and combination of infernal spirits, enemies to God ; and working all the mischief they can to men ; whereby also, there is an evident testimony given to the truth of what is related in the Scriptures concerning the same, and withal, to lament, that through the just displeasure of our holy and righteous God, those devils get leave to break forth with so much rage and fury, and gets so many among professing Christians into a hellish confederacy with themselves to be the instruments of their malice, and the actors of so many tragedies in the Christian world ; to stir us up also to bless and magnify our God, that those devils and their instruments are chained and limited, that they cannot work all the evil they would, and as long as they will : and therefore to join in thanksgiving to God for his deliverance to that afflicted family and damsel. Finally, as we are to submit to such afflictions as the Lord may think fit to measure out unto us, by whatsoever instruments as in the case of Job ; so we are called
to

to watch and pray that we enter not into temptation while we have such adversaries going about still seeking to devour us, and to rejoice that we have a strong protector, the blessed Captain of our salvation, the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath obtained the victory over all the devils in hell, and hath promised all his saints a share in his victory, which they begin to have in time, 1 epistle John, iv. 4. And he hath given us hope even through grace of a speedy and certain accomplishment thereof. Rom. xvi. 20. And therefore when we see all these things come to pass. Luke xxi. 22. Let us lift up our heads, because our redemption draweth nigh.

End of the Narrative.

An Abbreviate of the Precognition and Report made by the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty's Privy Council for enquiry : and the Confessions of Elisabeth Anderson, James and Thomas Lindsay's, transmitted by these Commissioners to the Council before granting the Commission for the trial. To which is subjoined, the sum of the Confessions of Margaret and Jean Rodgers, who did confess during the Trial of the rest, beyond expectation. Together also with an account of the Confession and death of John Reid, who made a Discovery conform to the former Witnesses, after the Trial was over. And finally, there are added some Passages which fell out at the Execution of the Seven WITCHES who were Condemned.

THE Commissioners for enquiry, having met at Bargaaran in February 1697, did choose the lord Blantyre Preses, and took the Confession of Elisabeth Anderson, aged about 17 years, as follows.

‘ That about seven years ago, she stayed with Jean Fultoun her grandmother, and playing about the door, she saw a black grim man go in to her grandmothers house: after which, her grandmother came

came to the door, called her in, and desired her to take the gentleman (as she named him), by the hand, and which she did, but finding it very cold, became afraid; and immediately he vanished. About a month thereafter, her grandmother and she being in the house together, the said gentleman (whom she then suspected to be the devil), appeared to them, and fell a talking with her grandmother, by rounding in one anothers ears; upon which the grandmother desired her to take him by the hand, being a friend of hers; but Elifabeth refusing, the grandmother threatened, that she would get none of the cloaths promised to her, unless she should obey: yet Elifabeth withstood, saying, 'The Lord be between me and him,' whereupon he went away in a flight; but she knew not how. Elifabeth was not troubled for a long time thereafter, till her father desiring her to go with him a begging through the country; and she saying, that she needed not seek her meat, seeing she might have work; her father pressed her to go alongst, and took her to a moor in Kilmacome. where were gathered together, at that and other subsequent meetings, Katharine Campbell, Margaret Fulton (her grand-aunt), Margaret Lang, John Reid Smith, Margaret and Janet Rodgers, the three Lindsays, (besides the two confessant ones) &c. and severals whom she did not know, and the foresaid gentleman with them. He came to Elifabeth, bidding her renounce her baptism, promising that if she would consent thereunto, she should get better meat and cloaths, and not need to beg. But, as she declared) she would not consent. Then he enquired what brought her hither, she answered, that she came with her father: whereupon the devil and her father went and talked together apart: but she knew not where about. Declares, that in that meeting was concerted the tormenting of Mr William Fleeming, minister at Innerkip his child. Elifabeth confesses she was at another meeting with that crew a-

bove the town of Kilpatrick, with the foresaid gentleman, whom they called their lord: and that she went with her father to the ferry-boat of Erskine; where the devil with the rest of the band overturned the boat, and drowned the laird of Brighthouse, and the ferrier of Erskine, with several special circumstances thereanent; particularly that some of the crew would have saved the ferrier, but one of them, viz. his mother-in-law gainstood it, in regard he had expelled her out of his house a little while before the meeting. Acknowledges she was present with them at the destroying of William Montgomerie's child, by strangling it with a sea napkin: where they having entered the house, lighted a candle, which was somewhat blewish, and Agnes Naismith saying, what if the people awake, Margaret Fulton replied, ye need not fear: as also declares, that about five weeks before the date, her father brought her on foot to Bargarran orchard, into which they entered by a sloop in the dyke, and where were present the persons beforenamed, &c. and the devil, who told that nobody would see them, at which they laughed. At this meeting, they, with their lord, contrived the destruction of Christian Shaw: some being for stobbing her with a touck, others for hanging her with a cord, a third sort for choaking her, and some intended to have her out of the house to destroy her: but fearing they might be taken before the next meeting to that effect, their lord (as they called him), gave them a piece of an unchristened child's liver to eat, (but the declarant and the other two confessants slipped the eating of it), telling them, that though they were apprehended, they should never confess, which would prevent an effectual discovery: And further, several of them being afraid that the declarant would confess, and tell of them as she had done formerly on her grandmother, they threatened to tear her all in pieces if she did so; and particularly, Margaret

Margaret Lang threatened her most. After two hours or thereby, they disappeared in a flight, except the declarant, who went home on her foot. Confesses likewise, That one night her father raised her out of her bed, and they having gone to the water side, took her on his back, and carried her over the river in a flight; from whence they went on foot to Dumbritton, and in Mr John Hardy minister, his yard, the crew and their lord being met, they formed the picture of Mr Hardy, and dabbed it full of pins, and having put it amongst water and ale mixed, roasted it on a spit at a fire, &c. After which her father and herself returned in the same manner as they went. Declares the particular persons that were employed and most industrious in the several facts before mentioned, &c.

James Lindsay aged 14 years) declares, ' That one day he met with the deceased Jean Fulton his grandmother at her own house, where she took from him a little round cape and a plack; but being grieved, he required them from her again, and she refusing, he called her an old witch and ran away, upon which she followed him and cried that she should meet him with an ill turn. About 3 days thereafter he being a begging in the country, he met his grandmother with a black grim man, &c. whom she desired him to take by the hand, which James did, but found it exceeding cold and was straitly griped, whereupon the said gentleman (as she termed him) asked the declarant if he would serve him, and obey him, and he should have a coat, hat, and several other things, to which James answered, yes, I'll do it, and after this the foresaid gentleman (whom the declarant knew thereafter to be the devil), and his grandmother went away, but knows not how. Acknowledges he was frequently thereafter at meetings with the devil and witches, particularly these mentioned in Elisabeth Anderson's confession: that their lord came to James at the first

public meeting, took him by the hand, and forbade him to tell : that they contrived before hand at the said meeting, the drowning of Brighouse, and concurs with Elisabeth Anderson anent the design of saving the ferrier which his mother in-law did divert. He being inrerrogate, declared he did not see J. K. and J. W. at committing of the foresaid fact : (and indeed they were then in prison), that they with a cord strangled Matthew Park's child : and that the person who waited on the child, finding it stifled, cried out, Matthew, Matthew, ' the bairn is dead :) Elisabeth Anderson concurs in this particular ; and tells, that when they had done, they took the cord with them. Declares, that he was present at strangling William Montgomerie's child with a sea napkin, and heard Agnes Naismith say, ' draw the loup, &c.' That about five weeks since, he was carried to them in Bargarran's orchard, and concurs with Elisabeth Anderson in what was treated there, anent destroying Christian Shaw, and the charm against confessing. Likewise the meeting in Dumbritton anent Mr Hardy, is acknowledged by him : And that he has several times appeared to Christian Shaw both in Glasgow and Bargarran, with the others that did torment her. and put in her mouth, coal, cinders, bones, hay, hair, sticks. &c. intending thereby to choak her ; that he and they did oftentimes prick and stob her in this manner, viz. he had a needle, which if he put in his cloaths, her body would be pricked and stobed in that place where he fixt the needle, and if he put it in his hair, that part of her head would be tormented : that he saw her put out the pins they had put in, at which time he cried these words, Help J. D. who was also then present : That when the ministers began to pray in Bargarran's house at several occasions, the devil and they immediately went away, &c.'

Thomas Lindlay being below pupilarity, declares, ' the same Jean Fulton his grandmother, awaked him one night out of his bed, and caused him take a

black grim gentleman (as she called him) by the hand; which he felt to be cold: and who having enquired if Thomas would serve him and be his man, and he would give him a red coat, the declarant consented: and the gentleman (whom he knew thereafter to be the devil) gave him a nip in the neck, which continued sore for ten days. Thereafter one day after his grandmother's decease, coming by her house, he thought she appeared to him clapping his head, and desiring him to be a good servant to the gentleman to whom she had gifted him, and forbidding him to reveal it. Declares, that one night lying in bed in the house of one Robert Shaw, he was awakened out of his sleep and carried in a flight to Matthew Park's house, where were present the particular persons named by him, and concurs to the manner of strangling of the child with James Lindsay his brother: and that another night, being in the house of Walter Alexander; he was brought to the strangling of William Montgomerie's child, and agrees likewise in the manner of it with his brother, only he says, the sea napkin with which they committed the fact, was speckled. He likewise concurs as to the meeting in Bargarran's orchard, about five weeks ago, and what was acted therein: as also anent Mr Hardy; with this addition, That himself turned the spit whereon the picture was roasted, &c.

It is to be noticed, that the three confessants were separately apprehended upon several occasions, so they (after the obstinacy to discover was abated) did emit these confessions in several distinct places without communication with, or knowledge of another's confession in manner mentioned in the preceding Narrative. The commissioners did examine them upon other trying questions that were new, thereby to make experiment of their conformity or disagreement: but still found them strangely to accord. The facts did fall out in the manner declared by them, parti-

cularly the strangling of the children, death of the minister, drowning of those in the boat, and torture of Bargarran's daughter mentioned in the confessions before expressed. Further, the commissioners did confront them both with Christian Shaw the afflicted girl, and the persons declared, (whom they caused apprehend), and both the girl and confessants did accuse these to their faces, and bind them in circumstances with great steadiness and congruity, though separately brought in. The commissioners did also try some experiments anent the girl her falling in fits on approach of the accused, as is expressed in the Narrative; and examined her, with those who stayed commonly about her upon the particulars of her sufferings: they tried to cause her write, (since she could not say out) the name of a person whom she first called Margaret or pinch'd Maggie, and asserted to be one of her chief bourriers; yet upon writing Margaret and the letter L of her surname, the girl was presently taken with a fearful convulsion, the pen being struck out of her hand, and herself falling as dead, with groans heavier and forer than ordinary: after some recovery, whereof some ministers pointed to her a passage of the Bible, but upon essaying to cast her eyes on it, she fell into vehement pangs, till one of the commissioners desired the book might be closed, and that being done, she immediately came to herself, &c. Lastly, the commissioners called before them those persons who had signed the passages of the several days in the written journal of the girl's sufferings; and having examined them thereupon, transmitted the same with the declarations of the three confessants, and several of the passages that occurred in the precognition, to his majestys privy council by whom they were appointed for that effect.

Besides this, the subscribed attestations of Dr Matthew Brisbane physician, and Mr Henry Marshall apothecary in Glasgow, did influence the belief of an extraordinary cause of these events. The

The doctor on the 31. December 1696. tells, that at first sight, when he was brought to the girl appeared so brisk in motion, so florid in colour so chearful, and in a word every way healthful, that he could hardly be persuaded she had need of a physician ; but within ten minutes he found himself obliged to alter his thoughts, for she rose from her seat, and advertised she was instantly to be seized with a fit, according whereunto he observed a considerable distention in her left hypochondre, which in a trace falling, she was forthwith taken with horrid convulsive motions and heavy groans at first ; which afterwards as soon as she was able to frame words, turned into expostulatory mourning against some women ; particularly Campbell and Naismith. Yet he thought these symptoms were reducible to the freaks of hypochondriac melancholy, and therefore put her in such a course proper against that kind of malady. Upon which being freed, for some time : he was alarmed that the child was returned to town worse than ever for having his assistance. He then was frequently with her, and observed her narrowly, so that he was confident she had no visible correspondent to submitter hair, straw, coal cinders, hay, and such like trash unto her ; all which upon several occasions he saw her put out of her mouth without being wet ; nay, rather as they had been dried with artifice, and actually hot above the natural warmth of the body ; sometimes after severe fits, and other times without trouble when discoursing with him. When she had only light convulsive motions, but to a high degree, such rigidity of the whole body, as we call *tetanus* she did not fancy as at other times, she saw these persons already named about her : but the upcasting of the trash abovementioned did no sooner cease, then in all her fits when she was able to speak any, she always cried out they were pricking or pinching her. He saw her also when free of fits suddenly seized with dumbness, &c. And this

this he solemnly declares himself to have seen and handled, and were it not for the hay, straw, &c. he should not despair to reduce the other symptoms to their proper classes, in the catalogue of human diseases. And in respect of these and some other specialities, the doctor thereafter being adduced upon oath in the trial, depones, that in his opinion these things did not proceed from natural causes arising from the patients body.

Mr Marshall the apothecary concurs with the doctor; and gives some particular instances of his own observation; and among the rest. That the girl having fallen headlong upon the ground, as she had been thrown down with violence, fell a reasoning very distinctly thus: 'Katie what ails thee at me, I'm sure I never did thee wrong; come let us gree, let there be no more difference betwixt us, let us shake hands together (putting forth her hand said) well Katie I cannot help it, ye will not gree with me.' And immediately she cried, fell into a swoon, and out of that into a rage, wherein she continued without intermission for about half an hour; and perfectly recovered. Then she told him that she saw Katie Campbell, Nancy Naesmith, &c. and many more; Campbell was going to thrust a sword into her side, which made her so desirous to be agreed with her; and when the girl told him this she instantly fell into another fit as formerly, in which she continued another half hour, &c. dated 1st Jan. 1697.

During the dependence of the trial, Janet and Margaret Rodgers confessed in this manner: The commissioners had adjourned for two several diets, and though they were to meet on the third, yet it was not expected that they would proceed till providence might clear the prisoners guilt by further testimonies of those who might come to confess. The very morning of the third term, the Rodgers did confess, which was a surprise to every one that came up to attend the court, since these, as they were

were women, and were not formerly noticed as others were : so they confessed of free motion, without any person's desiring it of them at the time ; they had not such means of instruction as were administered to others : and the conjuncture of many circumstances were altogether singular. Their confessions did coincide as to the meetings and things acted therein, with the three former confessants, and the other evidences of the visible matters of fact : Only they were so pointed as to condescend upon some of the pannels whom they did not see at these rendezvous ; and great care was taken, to compare their testimonies which had been already discovered, and to expiscate their certain knowledge, by new interrogators when they were separate from one another, &c. The whole crisis had such an evidence, that now the commissioners, with the general approbation of the most intelligent of the country, who came in to attend the court, allowed the going on of the process to debate of the relevancy, and putting seven of the best known criminals, for whom an advocate appeared, to the knowledge of an inquest : According whereunto there were some days allowed for the pannels giving in their informations upon the relevancy ; and at the term, there was a great time spent in adducing the probation, an account whereof is referred to another place. Upon the 21st of May, 1697, after trial of the seven witches, there is an attestation subscribed by Mr Patrick Simson minister at Renfrew, Walter Scot bailie there, &c. of this import, John Reid smith in Inchinan, prisoner, did in presence of the said persons and some others, declare, That about a year ago, the devil (whom he knew to be such thereafter) appeared to him when he was travelling in the night time, but spoke none to him at the first encounter. At the second appearance he gave him a bite or nip in his loin ; which he found painful for a fortnight. That the third time he appeared to him as a black man.

&c.

&c. desired him to engage in his service, upon assurance of getting gear and comfort in the world ; since he should not want any thing that he would ask in the devil's name : and then he renounced his baptism, putting the one hand to the crown of his head, and the other to the sole of his foot, thereby giving himself up to Satan's service : After which the pain of bite or nip ceased. He told that hitherto there was no others present ; but thereafter he was at several meetings, particularly that in Bargarran's yard, about the time when there was a fast for Christian Shaw ; where the devil appeared in the same kind of garb as he first appeared to him, and they consulted Christian's death, either by worrying or drowning her in the well ; and the devil said, he should warrant them, that they should neither be heard, seen, nor confess ; to which end he gave every one of them a bit of flesh, that the declarant got, but let it fall and did not eat it. Thereafter in the presence of the laird of Jordankill, the minister, Mr Andrew Cochran town-clerk, and bailie Paterson, he owned his former confessions : And being enquired of Jordankill how they were advertised of their meetings, he said that ordinarily at their meetings the time of the next was appointed ; but for particular warning there appeared a black dog with a chain about his neck, who tinkling it, they were to follow, &c. And being enquired by the minister, if he did now wholly renounce the devil (for he had formerly told how Satan had not performed his promise) and give himself to Jesus Christ, and desire to find mercy of God through him : he assented thereunto. It is to be observed that John Reid, after his confession, had called out of the prison window, desiring bailie Scot to keep that old body Angus Forrester, who had been his fellow prisoner, close and secure ; whereupon the company asked John, when they were leaving him, on Friday's night the 21st of May, whether he desired company or would

would be afraid alone, he said he had no fear of any thing. So being left till Saturday's forenoon, he was found in this posture, viz sitting upon a stool, which was on the hearth of the chimney, with his feet on the floor and his body straight upward, his shoulders touching the lintel of the chimney, but his neck tied with his own neckcloth (whereof the knot was behind) to a small stick thrust into a cleft above the lintel of the chimney; upon which the company, especially John Campbell a surgeon, who was called, thought at first in respect of his being in an ordinary posture of sitting, and the neckcloth not having any run loup, but an ordinary knot, which was not very strait, and the sticks not having the strength to bear the weight of his body or the struggle, that he had not been quite dead; but finding it otherwise, and that he was in such a situation, that he could not have been the actor thereof himself; concluded that some extraordinary cause had done it, especially, considering that the door of the room was secured, and that there was a board set over the window, which was not there the night before when they left him.

There shall little be added anent what past at the execution of the seven witches, because there is no subscribed attestation thereanent: and the design of the publishers has been to advance nothing but what stands warranted by testimonies of known credit beyond contradiction. Yet this much is notour; that when they were going to the stake, one of the Lindseys was overheard to say to the other, 'Now brother it is time that we should confess, since our keeping it up will serve us to no purpose,' or the like expression; to which the other answered, that they should never do that, &c. And Margaret Lang before and about execution, let drop at minutes of the devil's inadvertence, That when the devil first appeared she knew not to be such till afterwards; that he gave her the insensible marks found on her body:

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She yielded to engage herself in his service by a covenant; and besides public meetings, she had been above eighty times in private conferences with him. Being enquired by a near relation of her own, anent her being in Bargarran's house tormenting Christian Shaw, answered in these words, 'The devil having an absolute power and dominion over me, carried my shape whither he would;' and it is known how she confessed unnatural lust, and profound hypocrisy, &c. though truly it did appear from her concurring mein and circumstances, that these things fell from her at seasons, when natural ingenuity and the vigour of truth, got the start of Satan's manacles. So Agnes Naesmith, &c. frequently told the minister, that their heart and tongue were bound up in such manner, that they could not express what they would; and sometimes it appeared by ocular inspection of their visage, that convulsive dampths did seize their heads upon getting out the initial words of any such attempt.

There are two remarkable instances in the case of Katharine Campbell, who was chief instrument and author of the girl's trouble, viz, an eminent minister discoursing before famous witnesses to Katharine, and enquiring if she did not distinctly remember the godly counsels, and gracious admonitions, which Christian Shaw, while in a fit, mentioned in the Narrative, page 22, 23, 24 gave her a certain time, and instancing some particulars thereof. Her answer was with heavy groans, Yes I remember. But being urged wherefore she would not confess the rest as well as that passage; and finding herself to be gravelled, she began to retract and seemed dampth, not being able to extricate herself answered before-mentioned. This occurred while she was in prison, before the trial; and after it, she in presence of several witnesses, did get out these words, That the doom pronounced on her was just, and that she could not free herself of witchcraft. But upon such attempts she fell down dead, strangely distended, and
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that six or seven times successively, with a suddenness that was both surprising and convincing to the spectators : at which occasion it was observed, that immediately before her falling into these fits, and upon her essaying to speak when there were charges laid home on her natural conscience, her mouth seemed to contract ; and she uttered heavy moans ; whereupon did follow her convulsion, but after rising out of them, she turned to be obstinate and inflexible : and whenever there was any appearance of her being more pliant, the foresaid fits did overtake her.

There is one thing further, which does abstruse the credibility of what these confessants averred, viz. That there are some others, both men and women in the country, who have confessed and told the same things before some of the best gentry and others, whose care could proceed no further for want of authority, which in due time will, no doubt, not suffer these witches to live, whom divine and human laws have so justly ordained to be cut off. Wherefore till the event of a further discovery, there shall only be added some passages which were omitted in the Narrative, though they be attested by some of the same persons that were witnesses to the other matters mentioned therein.

Particularly, the girl declares, that in one of her conflicts with the devil, he told her how a certain minister (for whom she had a special respect) did compile his sermons through the week, what books he chiefly made use of, and several other matters anent his method of study in his closet, that no mortal could know by ordinary means : By which, no doubt, Satan did partly design (though by a very false argument) to raise the esteem of books above sermons collected out of them ; concealing in the mean time, both the gift of improving helps, and the blessing promised to the hearer of the word preached. When the lady Bargarran received the two pieces of red cloath, that the girl had torn from

one of the witches sleeves, as is above narrated ; she locked up the same and kept the key ; notwithstanding of which caution, some friends having come to visit the girl, and being desirous to see the foresaid pieces of cloath, she being in one of her fits, laughed, and told that her mother needed not to seek for them in the place where they were locked up ; the witches having taken them away, and laid them in a corner of the cellar ; and accordingly being searched for, they were found in the particular place condescended on. There was another like passage which occurred to a friend, who came in with Bargarran for soliciting a commission from the council : for he having brought alongest with him those pieces of cloath, and buttoned his pocket on them at night, and put it in security as he thought ; behold they are a missing in the morning ! but after search are found in a good distance from the pocket, though none visible had been in the room to open it and carry them off. Finally, this girl did in discourse, discover a great sagacity, yet accompanied with extraordinary modesty ; and among other instances, she did observe the doors and windows open and shut again, upon the witches entry thereat. There was at no time such a number of them about her as the room might not very well contain, with the visible persons that were present therein. She observed them to shift their place with a great agility, when any other came into it, or attacked upon her pointing to them. And she often averred from the instance of the spirit that spoke to her above her head told their names, and gave her other means of discovering of them, &c. That Satan does often contrive their ruin, by the most undiscernable methods he can, because an open deed would scare others to undertake with so faithless a master, &c.

An account of Two LETTERS, which contain a Summary of what appeared most Material or Curious, in the Trial of the Seven WITCHES, who were condemned to be Burnt in Paisley.

THE truth of the strange things mentioned in the preceding Narrative, was at first, carefully searched into only by private persons ; but at last became so notour, that, upon application founded on a journal of these extraordinary events, attested by many of the gentry in the country, the council gave a commission for enquiring thereanent.

The honourable persons to whom this was recommended, did, with great impartiality and exactness, make a report ; which, in providence, proved a mean of moving the government to notice the execution of justice on some of these withes, who otherwise, might have lurked without being discovered.

For, hereupon, the council directed a second commission, for trial of those who appeared to them to be most loaded by the preliminary probation adduced on the first. Several of these judges were not only persons of honour, but also of singular knowledge and experience ; conform whereunto they did proceed with singular caution, and were so far from precipitancy in the affair, that, after several diets of court, they adjourned to a longer term, that, in the mean time, the prisoners might be provided of advocates.

Accordingly an advocate compeared for them, and managed their defence with all the accuracy that could be expected. There were about twenty hours employed, at one diet, in examination of witnesses ; and the inquest being inclosed, did consume about six hours in comparing the probation. Whereupon seven of the most notorious criminals were convict and condemned.

The crimes libelled and found proven against them, were not mere spectral imaginations, but open and

abvious facts, viz. The murders of some children and persons of age ; and the torturing of several persons, particularly, Bargarran's daughter ; and both these, not at a distance, but contiguously by natural means of cords, pins and the like ; besides the other ordinary works of witchcraft, such as renouncing baptism, entering in contract with and adoring the devil under a corporeal shape, &c. which could not but be sustained relevant in Scotland, since there is an express statute, Parl. 9th, Act 73. Queen Mary, appointing the pain of death to such.

To make the probation the more convincing, it was adduced orderly in three periods. The first consisted of unsuspected witnesses, who proved facts. From whence it was necessarily inferred that there was witchcraft in the case. The second did include, also unexceptionable witnesses, who deponed upon facts ; which made it probable if not necessary, that the pannels were the witches. The third did comprehend six positive testimonies, of these who did see and hear these witches committing the malefices libelled.

The only valuable subject of debate, was anent the import of these last testimonies ; five whereof were by confessants, who had been at the meetings in which were committed the crimes libelled ; and the sixth of Bargarran's daughter, who was one of the persons maleficiar. The antecedent part of the probation was by witnesses beyond exception ; and the judges upon a long debate did sustain four of these six only *cum nota*, and two of them to be examined without oath, so nice were they in favours of the pannels lives, since some of these witnesses might have been admitted in such a crime without any quality, by the most scrupulous judicatory in Europe. But all things were carried on in this procedure with tenderness and moderation : For even the advocates, who were sent to prosecute the indictment, by his majesty's council and advocate, did not
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act with the bias of parties : but on the contrary, shewed an equal concern to have the pannels affoiled, if it could be found compatible with justice.

This is the reason for which the publisher doubts not, but the two following Letters (the one whereof gives a compend of the advocates speech to the jury, and the other of their answers to the objections against the confessant witnesses) will afford a satisfying view of the chiefest part of the trial ; since the objections which were or might have been made, are therein stated and answered, or anticipate and prevented, and the intended brevity would not permit to print at this time the whole process, which being extent upon record, any who are curious may have easy access thereunto.

There is scarcely need to take notice of a late scurrilous pamphlet, that had been printed in England, and pretends to give an account of those proceedings ; for any who reads it may easily find that the author has been either fool, knave, or both there being neither good language, sense or truth, in the most part of it.

L E T T E R I.

SIR,

YOU having told me, that the odd passages which occur in the west, have put many of your neighbours and yourself, upon reading all the books you can get, treating of witchcraft ; and therefore desired me to transmit to you my observations at the court. I shall not preoccupy your opinion by giving them in my own form ; but herein I send to you the exactest duplicate of the advocates speech to the inquest that I could obtain ; and by the next post you shall have something more curious, viz. A collection of their answers to the objections against the the six last witnesses, that were adduced for concluding the proof : Having these, you will want little that could be agreeable to such an accurate gust as yours is.

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The Speeches to the Inquest were of this import,
Good Men of Inquest.

YOU having sitten above above twenty hours in overhearing the probation : and being inclosed, where, 'tis like, you will take no small time to reconsider and compare it ; we shall not detain you with summing up the same in particular ; but shall only suggest some things, whereof it is fit you take special notice in your perusal of it, viz. 1st, The nature of your own power, and the management thereof. 2dly, The object of this power which lies before you, wherein you are to consider in the first place, whether or not there has been witchcraft in the malefices libelled ? and in the next place, whether or not these pannels are the witches ?

As to your power, it is certain that you are both judges and witnesses, by the opinion of our lawyers and custom ; therefore you are called out of the neighbourhood, as presumed best to know the quality of the pannels, and the notoriety of their guilt or innocence. Your oath is, That you shall all truth tell, and no truth conceal ; which does plainly imply, that you are to condemn or absolve, conform to your proper conviction. Such is the excellent constitution of juries in England ; and ought to hold more specially in this circumstantiated case, where there is such a chain of different kinds of probation concurring against the same pannels, as will appear by the review thereof in its proper place.

We are not to press you with the ordinary severity of threatening an assize of error, in case you should absolve ; but wholly leave you to the conduct of God and your own conscience, and desire that you proceed with all the care of the pannels lives that is possible for you, as the honourable judges have set to you a desirable pattern, in their great caution thereanent.

As to the probation itself, you see, that it is divided in three parts, viz. The extraordinariness of the malefices ; the probability of the concurring adminicles ; and the clearness of the positive probation.

As to the first part, the malefices, or *corpora delicti*, are proven by unexceptionable witnesses, to have fallen out in such an odd and extraordinary a manner, that it points out some other causes than the ordinary course of nature, to have produced these effects.

For clearing of this, particularly in relation to the torments of Bargarran's daughter, you may consider not only the extraordinary things that could not proceed from a natural disease, which ly proven before you ; but also several other matters of fact, which is notour, have been seen by some of yourselves, and ly here in a journal of her sufferings ; every article whereof is attested by the subscriptions of persons of entire credit, before the honourable commissioners appointed by his Majesty's privy council, for making enquiry thereanent.

This girls throwing out of hairs, pins, and coals of greater heat than that of her body or blood ; as as also so dry that they appeared not to have come out of her stomach ; nor had she any press of vomiting at the time ; that she declared the same to have been put in her mouth by her tormentors ; is deponed by doctor Brisbane, in his opinion, not to proceed from a natural cause.

She was not tormented by any of the pannels after their imprisonment ; except two nights by Katharine Campbell ; which being a surprize, it was thereafter discovered, that these two nights the jaylor's wife had got out Katharine Campbell to spin in her house.

She having been speaking to one of her tormentors as present, (though invisible to the by standers) and asking how her tormentors had got these clouted red sleeves ; she suddenly gets up, takes hold of them,
the

the company hears a shried, and she pulls away two pieces of red cloth, which all the by-standers beheld with amazement in her hands ; nor was there any other piece of this kind of cloth to be found in the room at that occasion.

She told, that her tormentors were giving her a glass of sack, an orange pill, &c. (thereby ensnaring her to accept of a favour from them), and accordingly she was seen to move her lips, and to have an orange pill betwixt her teeth ; though there was no visible hand that could have done it.

She advertised before hand that one of her tormentors was to be at the door at a particular hour : and that another of them was in the kitchen before any did tell her thereof ; which accordingly fell out. And these being brought to her presence, became obnoxious to the ordinary means of discovery.

When her glove fell down from her, at a time that several persons were about her ; it was lifted again by a hand invisible to them.

She was not only transported through the hall and down stairs without perceiving her feet to touch the ground ; but also was hurried in a flight up stairs : and when a minister endeavoured to retain her, he found a sensible weight, besides her own strength, drawing her from him.

When she complained, that her tormentors had bitten and scratched her ; the steads of the nails and teeth were seen upon her skin, with blood and spittle about the wounds, which were above twenty four ; while neither her own, or any other teeth that were visible, could have done it.

She was most vehemently distorted upon attempting to tell or even write the names of her tormentors ; yet that ceased as to any of them, how soon the person was delated ; and particularly she had liberty after many painful attempts, to accuse Margaret Lang, how soon a charm of hair to restrain her, which Margaret had left behind the door, was found
and

and burnt; the girl having told it to have been tint^d in manner mentioned in the deposition.

She did throw out no more hair after the finding the ball of hair, of the same colour and kind with that thrown out by the girl, in Katharine Campbell's pocket, with pins in it, and the burning of it.

After Agnes Nasmith had prayed for her, she did appear to her, but not torment her.

She foretold, that her tormentors had concerted to throw her in a fit, (whereof they did premonish, of design to fright her to renounce her baptism by the terror), at a certain hour, and had left one of their number to execute it; according whereunto, there was a woman with a red coat seen under a tree in the orchard, and the torment was brought on at the time appointed.

When she told there was something tormenting her under the cloaths, the spectators saw the bed-cloaths move in an extraordinary manner, after the girl had been raised out of them.

When she complained she was beaten: the bystanders heard the noise of the strokes.

She cried out at a time, that her thigh was hurt; and one of the company having searched her pocket, found a knife; but unfolded: however, having folded up the same, and put in in a second time, she cries of new: and upon the second search, (it, tho' secured by the spring), is found open, to the great wonder of the beholders; since they did watch, that no visible thing could have possibly opened it.

She told of a charm under the bed: and accordingly it was found in the shape of an egg, which melted away being put in the fire; she told also, that her sister who was boarded abroad, had charms put above her in the house, and would not recover of the decaying sickness till she was brought out of it. According whereunto the child being brought home, she straightway recovered.

She told of their meeting in the yard of Bargarran

ran, for consulting anent the destroying of her ; and accordingly the confessants have deponed, that they did meet and consult her ruin in that place.

The story anent her telling, That the commissioners, though at three miles distance, had granted a warrant to the sheriff, to apprehend one of her tormentors ; her telling so perfect an account of the sheriff and of Mr Guthrie who was with him, while her eyes were tied and fast ; her being in excessive torments, (as she foretold), till that person was apprehended, and immediately thereupon, though at many miles distance, her telling that her tormentors were now taken, betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the morning, and the sheriff when he returned, did declare the seizure to have been about that time ; is so notour, and so well attested, that we need only to put you in mind thereof.

Her falling in fits upon the sight, or touch of her tormentors, was no effect of imagination ; for she was fully hood-winked with a cloak, so as she saw no body whatsoever ; yet upon the approach of her tormentor, she immediately fell down dead ; whereas she remained no ways startled upon the touch of any other : which experiments was tried for ascertaining this mean of discovery.

Finally, she is naturally sagacious and observant, and discovered her integrity in face of court ; for when the president asked, Whether or not she knew one of the pannel's name that was to be pricked ? she answered, That though she knew her well enough of herself ; yet one had told her the name of this pannel, when she was sent for to be confronted with her : so far did this girl discover her aversion from any thing that might seem intended to aid unfairly the natural evidence of truth ; and her firmness to the outmost against temptations of becoming a witch ; particularly against the last assault of Satan ; wherein he persuaded her at least to go to their meetings, and she answered, That she would not follow such a base fallen creature ; and he rejoining, That she

would go to hell however for her other sins ; and she answering, That he was a liar from the beginning ; and the blood of Jesus would cleanse her from all iniquity : whereupon he disappeared, and she perfectly recovered upon the sabbath thereafter ; was an happy end put to this fearful tragedy of witchcraft, and confirms to conviction the reality of it.

As to the murdering of the children, and the minister libelled ; you may observe several extraordinary things appearing in them ; particularly the witnesses depone, the minister to have been in excessive torments, and of an unufal colour, to have been of sound judgment ; and yet he did tell of several women being about him, and that he heard the noise of the door opening, when none else did hear it. The children were well at night, and found dead in the morning, with a little blood on their noses, and blaes at the roots of their ears ; which were obvious symptoms of stranglings : besides that it is testified, that the keeper of one of them, cried out, ‘ Matthew, Matthew, the child is dead.’ And the house of the other was whitened within, with lifting of meal the night before. Both which particulars were told and discovered by the confessants, before the witnesses which now concur with them in it, were examined.

The second part of the probation consists of several adminicles, proven by unsuspected witnesses, which lead us to suspect those pannels to be wiches, as so many lines drawn from a circumference to a center, and as an avenue to the positive probation thereafter adduced : and these either strike at the whole pannels in general, or some of them in particular. In general we need not enomerate all these adminicles, but remit you to the probation, which is so full thereanent ; only you will be pleased to notice, that it is clearly proven, that all the pannels have insensible marks, and some of them in an extraordinary manner ; that most of them have been long reputed witches, and some of them delated in 1687, by a confessing witch, whose subscribed confession has

been produced, you see that none of them doth shed tears ; nor were they ever discovered to do it since their imprisonment, notwithstanding of their frequent howlings ; so that it is not a sudden grief or surprise. And finally, that the girl fell in fits of torment upon the pannels approaches to her, and that she did name them all frequently, either out or in her fits.

In particular, you see how Katharine Campbell was provoked by this girl's discovering her theft ; whereupon she has brought in the rest of her confederates to act the following mischiefs ; how thereupon Campbell did curse and imprecate in a terrible manner ; how she stayed out of her bed at night, and was frequently drousie in the morning ; how she was named by the girl, particularly the two nights that she was out of prison. The ball of hair was taken out of her pocket and burnt ; whereupon the girl's throwing out of hair did cease ; she could not express one word, even when on her knees, of prayer ; for the girl's recovery ; and the insensible marks on her were remarkable.

Agnes Nasmith did not torment the girl after she had prayed for her ; she was reputed a witch, and hath the marks. She came early in the morning to Bargarran's close, when by her refusing to go in, it appeared she had no business ; yea, it is plain, that she had a resentment, for her not getting a greater alms the last time she was there. The girl declared, *ex incontinenti*, that Nasmith asked her health and age ; which in these circumstances was a shrewd presumption of her evil design ; and she acknowledged herself to have done this, when she asked the age of another child ; wherein by providence she was befooled, since that which she thought would have been an excuse, tended to discover her guilt. And lastly, after this appearance of Agnes Nasmith, the girl did take her first fit, and nominate her among her first tormentors.

Margaret Lang that great imposter, has been a great master-piece of the devil ; she has confessed

unnatural lust, which is known to some of your number ; she sat near the door where the charm of hair was found, which the girl declared did keep up her tongue ; and upon burning thereof, it was loosed. the girl fell in fits upon her approach ; she has notable marks ; particularly one, which the confessants declared she lately received ; and by inspection, it appears to be recent. When she came from her private conversation (no doubt with the devil), she raged as if she had been possessed, and could not but declare, That she expected a violent death. She looked in the face of James Millar's child, and asked her age, whereupon that child sickened the same night, and named Margaret Lang on her death-bed : it appears she was ready to show to Janet Laird a sight of her mother, who had been three years dead. And finally, she has been taken in several lies and gross prevarications ; particularly you may remember how six hours ago ; when the witnesses were examined on the ball of hair found with Katharine Campbell, a gentleman, (Mr Stewart of——) heard her say to Katharine in the ear, ‘ This is well waird on you, because ye would not put it away when I desired you, &c.’ Which the said Mr Stewart did openly testify in court upon oath ; notwithstanding whereof, this impudent wretch had the confidence to deny it, though Katharine Campbell also confessed, that she had pulled at her, and had spoke somewhat to her, to which she did not advert. This was no wonder, the witnesses deponing at the same time being clois against Katharine.

Margaret Fulton was reputed a witch, has the mark of it, and acknowledged in presence of her husband, that she made use of a charm ; which appeared full of small stones and blood. That her husband had brought her back from the furies ; and her reputed of being a witch, is of an old date, besides her being often named by the maleficient girl.

As to the Lindsays, they all have the mark, and

were all of a long time reputed to be witches. John Lindsay in Barlock. was accidentally discovered by the girls taking a fit upon his coming to the house. John and James Lindsay were delated by a confessing witch in anno 1687. Which confession is publicly read before you; and there was money given to the sheriff-depute for delaying of the pursuit. James Lindsay appeared to William Sempel suddenly, and flew about like a fowl, for an opportunity to strike him, in revenge of the quarrel mentioned in the deposition, and at last prevailed to strike him dead over a dyke. And finally which is a remarkable indication both to truth and providence, the very witnesses adduced in the exculpation, for the Lindsays deposed so clearly against them, even beyond the pursuer's witnesses, that their advocate was stunned thereat; and thereupon desisted from craving any more witnesses to be examined on the exculpation.

It is true, some of these indications may be in one, and others of them in another, either from nature or accident, and yet that person not be a witch: but it was never heard nor read, that all these indications, which are so many discoveries by providence, of a crime that might otherwise remain in the dark, did ever concur in one and the same individual persons that was innocent: yea, on the contrary, they, by the wisdom and experience of all nations, do also convincingly discover a witch, as the symptoms of a leprosy concerted by all physicians, do unfold the person affected with the same to be leperous. But *est*, they are not sufficient of themselves, yet their tendency and meaning, being cleared and applied to their proper cause, by a liquid and positive probation; there wants no more to determine you anent the pannel's guilt. And therefore,

Thirdly, As to the third part of the probation, We remit the positive depositions of the confessants, and against whom they do concur, wholly to your own perusal or examination: only you would be pleased to notice. 1st, Something which do very

much sustain the credibility of their testimonies, arising from their examination in court. 2dly, We shall explain to you the import of the word *Nota*, which is added to the interlocutor of the judges admitting these last witnesses.

First, Elisaberb Anderson is of sufficient age, being seventeen, ; but so young and pointed, that her deposition appears no effect of melancholly : she accused her father to his face when he was a dying in the prison, as now there are two of her aunts in the pannel, which certainly must proceed from the strength of truth, since even Dives retained a natural affection to his relations ; she went on foot to the meetings with her father, except only that the devil transported them over the water Clyde ; which was easy to the prince of the air, who does far greater things by his hurricanes, She tells that Montgomerie's house was Meally when his child was strangled : and declares, that she never renounced her baptism, but was carried along by the concussion of the parent : so that nothing can be objected against her testimony in any judgment, much less an excepted crime :

James Lindsay, it is true, is of less import ; yet by his weeping when he came in and was admonished of the greatness of his guilt : It appears that he had an sense of it : he hath a natural precipitancy in what he speaks, yet that is commonly the concomitant of ingenuity, as importing his expressions not to be forethought. He concurs in most things with the others, and yet he has declared ; that he saw not Margaret Fulton at Dumbartoun, &c. Which implies that he does not file the pannels all at random, but tells what occurred to his senses, &c.

Janet and Margaret Rodgers are instances of a singular providence ; for they did confess the same morning that the court did last sit, of their own proper motive, their being neither ministers nor judges beside them at the time. Agnes Naismith is Janet's

relation, and she tells that she never saw Katharine Campbell, as Margaret declares, that she did not see John Lindsay in Barloch; which plainly demonstrates that they tell only the dictates of their natural conscience, arising from discretion and knowledge of the true matters of fact: they both professed their repentance last sabbath in the church; and do persist with great firmness: as you see their deponent in deponing to be congruous and exact.

Thomas Lindsay and Christian Shaw, being under popularity, we did not press their being put to an oath; yet you saw that they did declare in court against those pannels in such an harmony with the rest of the deponents; and gave such an cause of their knowledge, that it is certain their own youngness in years, adds extremely to the credit of their testimony: because thereby it is incredible, that they could have contrived or executed the acting of concert.

As to the second, Since these witnesses are admitted by the judges; it necessarily implies, that they meant them to be probative; only they adjusted the words, *cum nota*; that is, you must notice, or *notandum est*, that there must something else concur to prove the guilt of the pannels, by and atour the depositions of any two such witnesses: but so it is, that all the adminicles on which you have seen probation led, for more than sixteen hours of your time, are strengthening evidences, of those witnesses credibility, and cannot but have been noticed by you as illative of the same things which they depone. Whereby the *nota* is fully taken off by the concurrence of four other positive testimonies, agreeing with that of two of these witnesses: by the extraordinariness of the *corpora delicti*: by the probability of the adminicles; and finally by the whole chain of this affair, and the sparkles of an infernal fire which in every place hath broken out of it.

It is true, there are some few of the adminicles that are proven only by one witness, but as to this you may consider 1st, That a witness deponing *de*

facto proprio, is in law more credited than any other single witness. And this is the present case as to some of the adminicles. 2dly, the antecedent concomitant and subsequent circumstances of fact, do sustain the testimony and make the *semi plenary* probation to become full. But 3dly, The other adminicles undoubtedly proven by concurring witnesses, are *per se*, sufficient; and therefore you saw us, at the desire of the judges forbear to call the far greatest part of our witnesses; because the time had already run to so great a length, and it was thought that there was already enough proven of presumptions; for it may also reasonably be imagined, that the most regular and curious scheme had emerged from the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, roving without rule, as that so many indications should concenter against each of these pannels, and yet they remain innocent of witchcraft.

Now upon the whole, you will take notice, that presumptions being vehement, make a more certain probation than witnesses; because presumptions are natural emanations of the thing itself, which cannot be bribed; whereas witnesses are obnoxious; so in our law there was one condemned for theft, another for falsehood, and a third for murdering of a child, merely upon presumptions, as is related by M^r Kenzie in his Criminal Treatise, much more may presumptions obstruct the faith of, and take off the *nota* from positive witnesses; for it is a gross mistake, that several proofs which have each of them some import, may not be joined to make a full evidence, the same way as two small candles in a dark room, will not suffice, yet several others being added to them, will make a sufficient light, to discover the murderer; two boys will be able to carry a weight which one of them would not be able to sustain, as two units make a full number: one witness of whatsoever dignity proves nothing; yet out of the mouth of two or three witnesses, every truth shall be established.

And finally, though one coal make not a fire that can do the work ; yet several coals added to it, increase the flame, which is hoped will be sufficient for the operation.

We shall therefore leave you with this conclusion, That as you ought to beware to condemn the innocent, and ought to incline to the safest side : so if these pannels be proven legally guilty ; then *quod* bygonos, your eye ought not to spare them them, nor ought you to suffer a witch to live ; and as to the future, you in doing otherwise, would be accessory to all the blasphemies, apostasies, murders, torture and seductions, &c. Whereof these enemies of heaven and earth shall thereafter be guilty, when they have got out. So that the question seems simply to come to this, whether upon your oath *de fideli*, you can swear, that the pannels, notwithstanding of all that is proven against them, are not guilty of witchcraft ; in the determination whereof, we pray God may direct you to the right course.

The inquest being inclosed near six hours, brought in their verdict to court that they found the libel proven.

L E T T E R II.

SIR,

I Have collected, according to my promise, what appeared to me most specious in the reasonings, either in court or private conversation, anent receiving of the confessants as witnesses. You are not to imagine, that the pannels were condemned on the faith of these ; for I do believe the probation by unexceptionable witnesses, led antecedent to this last, was so pregnant that the pannels might have been condemned on it, though these last had not been adduced.

I may have missed the energy of the argument sometimes, in a case which in itself is abstruse : however, you have it in such a manner as I was able to penetrate thereunto, as follows.

I N order to the more satisfactory answering of the objections made against these last witnesses, we

shall first, lay before you the state of the case ; and then clear up the determination of it.

As to the first, the question is not, whether partners in the crime, or others mentioned in the objections, can be a concluding proof of themselves, tho' two of them would concur as to the same act of witchcraft ; but whether the *corpora delicti* appearing already to imply witchcraft, and the extrinsic adminicles being so pregnant, to infer that these pannels are the witches ; there concurring such characters, as by observance of all nations and ages, are the symptoms of a witch ; particularly, the marks, fame, not shedding of tears, &c. which are discoveries of providence of such a crime, that like avenues lead us to the secret of it. And finally, when six persons of different ages and stations, five confessants and the girl, do, when separately examined, agree in their answers to every material question that is put to them, even though it be new ; so that it could not be concerted : We say, whether or not in such a case, may witnesses be received to put the capstone on the evidence by a positive probation, of a matter of fact which is the object of sense, though otherwise they be liable to exception, if such extraordinariness of the *corpora delicti*, clearness of the adminicles, and of the diagnostics of witches, did not precede them as you have seen proven before you that they do.

The case is not, whether these witnesses would be habile in an ordinary crime, which commonly falls to be exposed to other witnesses, than those concerned in it ; but whether they can be received in this extraordinary, occult and excepted crime of witchcraft, wherein there are two special cases to be noticed, viz. Sometimes the acts thereof are open and admit the choice of witnesses ; such as charms used in the days time, when the the actor is visible. But that part of witchcraft, whereby witches meet in the night time, adore their lord, contrive their malefices, and accordingly thereafter execute them when other witnesses are asleep, or the witches themselves are

covered from sight ; we say, that this can be no otherwise proven than by these that are intimate to it, joined to the positive proof and adminicles before-mentioned,

We do not alledge, that persons altogether destitute of knowledge and natural conscience, are not to be admitted in any case, such as infants, furious, fatuous, &c. Neither do we contend, that Thomas Lindsay and Christian Shaw, who are under pupilarity, should be put to an oath ; for they are only to be examined separately before the court, upon interrogators, by which it may appear, whether or not they coincide with the four other confessants, that are to depone before them ; and this is the pannel's advantage in case of disagreement. But we insist, that any person above pupilarity ; giving evidences of considerable knowledge and natural conscience (which is a sufficient fund for all the credit that we need in this case, that is already almost fully proven) it is to be received as a witness.

As to the 2d, we shall make this as clear as noon.
1. From reason and the nature of the thing. 2. Our own customs and decisions. And 3. The singularity of the circumstance case.

As to the first, the going to and coming from meetings, especially on foot ; the falling down and worshipping the devil there, under a corporeal shape (which he had when he tempted our Saviour to do it). The actual murdering of children by a cord and napkin ; and the tormenting of others by pins, &c are plain objects of sense ; and therefore the senses are to be believed anent them. For as reason hath things intelligible and faith things supernatural : so the senses have things corporal for their objects, whereanent they are to be trusted, ay and while it be proven, that the appearance is impossible, or that the witness of it, is an impostor. It is a part of the witches purchase from the devil, that they cannot be seen at some occasions ; so that the

abominations committed then would remain unpunished, if such witnesses were not admitted. It cannot be thought that witches (who of all criminals are the most obstinate to confess) would venture the loss of their own lives, by deponing against others, against whom they have no special pique; yea, for whom they have particular affection, as severals of the pannels are some of the witnesses relations. Nor has the devil any peculiar interest to instigate them thereunto: For severals of the pannels have confessed other execrable crimes; whereby it cannot be supposed, that Satan would be divided against himself. God in his ordinary providence has taken such care of public judgments, that the enemy of justice his special power ceases thereabout, as appears by the witches not being able either to do more harm, or escape after God's ministers being to counteract Satan's instruments by imprisonment. And finally, the oddness of the malefices, the concurrence of the adminicles, and the existence of matters of fact wherein these confessants (though not knowing the same otherwise) do agree with other unexceptionable witnesses, &c. do sufficiently abstract their credibility. For as falshood being a crime, is never presumed; so a person found true in many things, is still presumed to continue such till the contrary be evinced.

As to the second, we have the testimony of our famous K. J. 6th, Demon lib. 2. C. ult. telling us, that it is our law, that boys, girls, infamous persons, &c. are not to be rejected any more in witchcraft, than in human life majesty, even though they assert others to have been present at imaginary meetings: Because this supposes their having entered into a pre-contract; he says that Satan's mark and the want of tears, are pregnant aids to the discovery. He gives an instance of a girl, who having named witches in her fits, they were all condemned upon other concurring adminicles. This not a common author, but a man who as curious, was exact; as prudent did not publish such things without the approbation of the

best divines and lawyers ; as a prince is to be credited anent the law of his own country ; and as a king has determined any dubiety that might have remained in this point, also far as the law of our government will permit.

But further our judges and lawyers have followed his majesty : For in all the processes in the journals, fame and delation, and the mark, are still sustained, as most pregnant presumptions ; whereupon, and a very small probation besides, witches have been frequently condemned. So in the processes against the bewitchers of Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, and Hamilton of Barns, Anno. 1677. *socius criminis*, though under age, is sustained to be a witness : And witnesses are adduced before the inquest for proving, that the mark was found upon some of the witches. Women and minors have been received by multitudes of decisions cited by M'Kenzie, Tit. prob. by witnesses, and Tit. witchcraft. And he also cites decisions, where in parallel cases, *socii criminis* and others inhabile, were admitted ; particularly in treason and in falsehood : And all lawyers conclude, that witchcraft is as much an excepted crime as these.

As to the third, Whatever inhability these witnesses might be under, it is fully made up, and they rendered unexceptionably habile by the chain of this whole business. It is true one man through the concurrence of corrosive humours, may have an insensible mark ; another be enviously defamed ; a third may through sudden grief or melancholy, not be able to weep, &c. a fourth may be loaded with suspicious circumstances, when extraordinary things fall out in the country ; a fifth may be deponed against by two false witnesses, though neither of these separately be truly witches. But by the known observation and experience of mankind, none except witches have had the unhappy medley and concurrence of all or most of these *indicia*, and ordinarily, and for the greater part, witches have them : So that since the rules of judgment are established upon that *quod plerumque*

fit, which does obtain till an exception be apparent in a special case, the conjunction of these in one person, does as plainly give his character, as the most certain symptoms of the plainest disease, being universally concerted in all parts of the world, points out to us that the haver of them is a person truly affected with that disease, whereof he hath the concurrent diagnostics. In a word, one or other of these may concur in the innocent; but no writers do attest, that all of them have concentrated in any other person in the world but a witch: And on the other hand, they taking place in witches, through all parts in the world, must proceed from a common, and not from a peculiar humour or cause.

The specific aptitude, of some of the nicest of the *Indicia*, which appeared from the probation already led, to discover a witch, do serve to clear the ground of the world's observation anent them. Particularly the devil, as aping God, imprints a sacrament of his covenant; besides that, commonly this mark being given at the first meeting, does by its intolerable pain force the witch to a second rendezvous for curing it, at which the poor wretch being under this furious necessity, fixes the paction by renewing it with deliberation, having been diverted in the mean time from considering the horridness of the first engagement by the pain. The inability to shed tears may be characteristic of hardening though not always in the case of Christians; yet in those who have ceased to be such, least the devil giving them such words of Scripture and prayer as many have, it should be impossible to discover their hypocrisy; and that is not Satan's own interest, since by this discovery, occasion is given to buffoon the profession of holiness. A report often arises without ground, but a constant repute that keeps footing, implies for the most part a surer cause, especially when it is of persons below envy; and by persons above calumny. The girl falling in fits at approach of the pannels might proceed from antipathy, arising from the poisonous steams of the

witch accustomed to produce that effect through a vertue affixed thereto by the devil, by conjunction of natural causes (the same way as the invilible pestilence does operate) or his promise of casting the girl in fits at the witches presence, might have been general ; whereby the witch was eventually befooled and discovered as it often falls out : For Satan envies even their temporal felicity, and fears lest by continuing here, they should be reft out of his hands by conversion : when they come to perceive the delusion of his promises to make them rich, &c.

There was one thing further which was tried before your lordships, viz. None of the pannels that were tried (though most sagacious and knowing, and perfect in memory, so that it could not proceed from ignorance or forgetfulness) could make out the attempt of saying the Lord's Prayer : which may either be a secret judgment for renouncing their first Lord, after whom it is peculiarly denominate, or by restraint of their new lord, who may think that too special an homage to his adversary. But we have hindered you too long with that which is not necessary : For this being incontrovertible law and custom, there needs no philosophy to support it ; since legislators do reason, but subjects must obey : and both the fool and lazy (who have neither read nor thought enough to understand this subject) are to be left to their own chimeras ; yet lest they should insult, we shall answer in their fashion, such of the objections as the pannels advocate thought any ways worthy to be repeated in this place.

Whereas it is objected, that Delrio sect. 5. § 4. says, that *jocii* are not to be admitted witnesses *ad condemnandum*, especially, considering that the probation ought to be *lucē meridiana clarior*.

It is answered, that the place itself confutes this inference in the present case : For it says *Ex his solis non est procedendum ad condemnationem scio contrarium communius teneri & in praxi obtinere, &c.* So it is evident, 1. The common opinion and custom

is in the contrary, even where there is no other probation, but by the partners of the crime. Yet, 2d. we are not so straitned but subsume in his very words *ex his solu* we do not desire the pannels should be condemned; but your lordships see these witnesses we are to adduce are not *soli* or alone; for the probation led these last sixteen hours, are so many concomitants and discoveries of providence, which abstract and make up any defect in their credit that can be desiderate. 3d. Hence the meaning of that maxim (which is metaphorical, as appears by the words, *clarior luce meridiana*, an equal clearness being sufficient) is fully answered, and takes place in the present case; for the extraordinariness of the *corpora delicti*, pregnancy of the adminicles and pointedness of the positive probation, being conjoined; there is not a clearer proof upon record in any nation, than that to which it is hoped these will amount.

Whereas this alledgance is enforced, by pretending it were of dangerous consequence to allow such witnesses to prove meeting with the devil, since Satan might have represented others by their false shapes.

It is answered, 1. That we are not straitened in this, because there are many other articles proven, which could not have been falsified. But if we give some scope to reasoning even in this point, it is to be considered, that the rules of judgment are established upon that which for the most part does still obtain, and rules are to be followed, till an exception be proven in a particular circumstantiated case. But so it is, by the experience and observation of the wisest divines, lawyers, philosophers, physicians, statesmen, judges and historians, at home and abroad (that are too wise to be imposed upon, and too ingenious to deceive us, when they all concur in the same matter of fact) beside the testimony of witches themselves every where, makes the apparitions of witches to be commonly and mostly real; and therefore the testimony of the senses is always to be credited anent

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them, ay and while it be cancelled. For single or few instances of false representations to the senses esteeming them to be true, or a possibility of appearances being false, can nowise invalidate the rule established upon experience, which is common, and for the most part, whereby no exception is to be presumed till be proven in a special case ; since a wonder does not subvert the proof drawn from the common course of nature : logic admits not to argue a *particulari*, or from possibility to existence ; law puts the burden of proving simulation on the affirmer, and that which seldom occurs, is not considered by the legislators.

For illustrating of which, it is further to be considered, that for the most part and ordinarily, the witches are personally existent in the places where they appear, because it is more easy for the prince of the air to transport them in his hurricanes which he can raise, as is plain in the instance of Job (who was put in his power, i. e. his natural power without delegation) forming a fence upon their face, whereby the violence of the air may be diverted from choaking them ; then to form the curious miniature of such various transactions on their brain : the difficulty whereof is the greater, that all their fancies are not disposed at all times the same way, and they have not the seeds of this work, unless they had once acted it in reality. It is both the greater crime and pleasure to act in truth ; which therefore the devil and witches do rather choose (unless the place be far distant or the party indisposed), and this *de facto* is attested to be so, by the writers and witches in all nations and ages, as said is.

2dly, Notwithstanding that the rule must hold, till an exception of exculpation be evinced, *quoad* a particular person, by evidencing that the real appearance was in that special case a true mistake ; yet this exception is sufficient for safety of the misrepresented ; since the same providence which permitted the affliction, will order the outgate and exculpation,

either by the ærial bodies not biding the touch, or some other distinction, as providence commonly allows the devil to personate only with a cloven foot ; or that the apparition was folly to one single witness, who cannot be a proof ; or that the innocent can prove *alibi* ; or finally the notour character of a Samuel, will purge and dispel the aspersions of Satan, contrived of purpose to discredit the evidence of sense, by which alone his instruments can be discovered. Especially this character being joined to the other circumstances of the providence ; such as, when good men are disguised they are mostly passive in the scene and outwith thereof : Whereas witches are personally active in their common life by such words and deeds as (in conjunction with these appearances) conspire to make us know and distinguish them from the truly good ; since these witches open profanity, naughtiness, or unveiled hypocrisy, being cleared by fame, sealed by the mark, and confirmed by the other discoveries of the adminicles that lie proven before you, do still make a land-mark betwixt the children of darkness and light. So Delrio lib. 5. sect. 16. N. 5. tells of Athanasius and St Germanus, against whom probation was adduced for forcery, but providence did cancel it. Its a famous instance of Susanna, represented by the elders ; which though not in the case of spectre, yet agrees in the rational. The representation by Pharoah's magicians had concomitants, by which they were discovered and confounded. But lastly, suppose that God in the depths of his wisdom (to convince the error of nimious self-confidence) should permit all necessary probation to concur against an innocent ; yet the judge following the faith of proofs established by divine and human laws, is altogether innoxious : Since this case being very rare, the evil is less than the establishing a principle, by which most of all these monsters could not be cut off.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that as though oft

times false witnesses set on by the devil, have taken away a harmless life, by accusing it of other crimes ; yet the testimony of witnesses must still be credited till they be redargued ; so these appearances of witches with the other specialities before express, being proven, ought to be esteemed real, till the fallacy be established. Especially seeing there are examples in ancient and modern history, of Satan's representing the best of men, as committing murder, buggery, &c. in effigy. So Delrio lib. 5. sect. 16. N. 5. relates, that St Silvanus was represented by the devil, as committing a common capital crime ; and the like of a monk ; whereof there are several modern parallel instances : yet this cannot enervate the rule and faith of public judicatures, founded on no more but upon the sight of the like appearances ; and any argument against the probation in witchcraft, will equally hold against the probation of any other crime whatsoever ; wherefore the rules of them both must be common, as to believing the senses fortified *ut supra*, till their error be individually discovered,

Finally, the certainty is noways diminished by the extraordinariness of the appearance to the senses : For in law and nature reality and not simulation is presumed, till the contrary be made appear, that it is actually false. This is answer enough to those who place a great part of their small wit in nonsensical arguing against all divine authority : But writers further illustrate that the extraordinariness of a matter of fact, does not exclude its realities being the subject of the testimony of witnesses in our Saviours miracles, transfiguration, walking on the waters, standing in the midst of the disciples while the doors were shut, and arguing assurance by their senses, that a spirit had not flesh and bones, though indeed the surer word of prophesy did put these beyond doubt.

Nor could it be alledged for the pannels (though they had the last word as perhaps they have not, in objections against witnesses, since therein *rei sunt*

affores by attacking the witnesses presumed hability) that its not conceiveable, how the girl or witnesses could see what the bystanders could not behold : Beside the impossibility of the real bodies entering at close doors and windows, or not intercepting the sight of what is at its back,

For this it would be answered, 1st, Proven facts must not be denied, though philosophers have not yet, certainly reached the invisible manner of their existence : So in nature the loadstone draws the iron, the compass turns always to the poles, &c. In Scripture the angels (and the devil was once such, retaining as yet his natural powers) smote the Sodomites, that they could not see the door, though they saw the house. Balaam's ass perceived the angel that stood undiscovered to himself ; and the rod thrown down by the magicians of Egypt, was no doubt seen by themselves, though invisible to the bystanders, which holding of their eyes, interpreters explain to have been done by natural means ; and yet the manner thereof is certainly difficult.

However it is also certain, that if a possible way can be proposed, the reality of a proved fact is not to be contradicted : and this can be done in the present case : For,

2dly, Satan's natural knowledge and acquired experience, makes him perfect in the optics and limning : besides that, as a spirit he excels in strength and agility, whereby he may easily bewitch the eyes of others ; to whom he intends that his instruments should not be seen in this manner as was formerly hinted ; viz. he constricts the pores of the witches vehicle, which intercepts a part of the rays reflecting from her body, he condenses the interjacent air with grosser meteors blown into it, or otherwise does violently agitate it, which drowns another part of the rays : and lastly, he obstructs the optic nerves with humours stirred toward them : All which joined together, may easily intercept the whole rays reflecting

from these bodies, so as to make no impression upon the common sense ; and yet at the same time, by the refraction of the rays gliding amongst the fitted sides of the volatile couch, wherein Satan transports them, and thereby meeting and coming to the eye, as if there were nothing interjacent, the wall or chair behind the same bodies may be seen ; as a piece of money lying out of sight in a cup becomes visible how soon the medium is altered by pouring in some water on it. Several of your number, do know, that the girl declared, that she saw and heard the doors and windows open at the witches entry, when, no doubt, the devil had precondensed a soft postage on the eyes and ears of others, to whom that was unperceived.

So Apulonius escaped Domitians sight ; and Giges became invisible by his magical ring. John of Sarisberrie tells us of a witch, that could make any thing not to be seen : and Mejerus relates another, that had the like power. Some Italian witches of greater than ordinary wit, confessed to Grilandus, the devil opening doors and windows for them, though the more ignorant, by a fascination, think themselves actors of this. Whence it ought not to be doubted by any reasonable man, what in all times and places is so uncontrollable fact.

Finally the pannels could not insist, that these confessants are to depone only on their imagination, which can prove no more against themselves or others than a dream.

For still its to be minded, that there are other proofs to which this is only necessary as a consonant adminicle. But further, *Arg. causa*. It is answered, that the allegiance is a mistake ; seeing they are plain matters of fact obvious not only to one, but several of their senses, viz. Some of them went the greatest part of the way to these meetings on foot ; they there saw and touched their confederates ; they heard their combinations to destroy, and torture the infants, girl, and ministers : they returned on foot

again, and even when they were carried fore or back, they knew on the next day that it was no dream, the same way as all other mortals discover the difference. But moreover, this is adminiculate by some real effects of a personal presence, as you have seen in the probation: and yet it is further cleared by the journal of Bargarren's daughter's sufferings; which was attested before the former commissioners, and is notour in the country, particularly, the glass of sack and orange pill, the pieces of the clouted sleeves, the words expressed by the keeper on the sudden murder of the child; which are constantly told by some of the confessants; as also the houses being mealy that night. The girl though hoodwinked, her falling in fits at their approach, &c. And others which shall be pointed at to the assize, conjoined together; can be ascribed to no other cause than the real existence of the witches persons in the place; unless it be said, that Satan might possibly have foisted and suborned all these, and thence it be concluded, that the devil did actually so, in which case the objectors are the persons that bottom their opinion on imagination, without any positive ground of the reality of what they fancy; yea against positive grounds of belief in the contrary, which arguing from possibility to existence, is already sufficiently exploded.

Whereas for sustaining the objection, it is likewise alledged, that the confessants having been in the devil's service, and renounced Christ, they are not capable of the religion of an oath.

1st, In the rules of charity, &c. The confessants, though once witches, yet now they at least the majority of them, have ceased to be such, having had the use of means by the ministers and word, and actually declared their repentance, and the devil ceasing to molest them; particularly Elisabeth Anderson was only carried alongst violently by her father, and stood out to the last against her renouncing of her baptism, or consenting to these crimes

which were contrived in their meetings. Janet and Margaret Rodgers do testify a great remorse, and avowed the same last sabbath, in the face of the congregation. So those three are sufficient, whatsoever it might be said against the other two, especially if we join the improbability either of hazarding their own lives, or the devil's sending them out against the pannels, of their destroying their own relations, as was remarked before. But,

2dly, Whether they remain witches or not, it is certain by reason and experience, that the devil's peculiar influence ceaseth in and about judgment : by the common course of providence : and therefore the authors before cited admit witches whether penitent or not.

3dly, All the defects of their hability is supplied, and the intireness thereof compleated, by their testimonys being so wonderful adminiculate : particularly the confessants are constant from the first discovery ; uniform in so various circumstances, not only with themselves, but with the girl : They declare nothing but what is probable, most of the pannels have been reputed witches, all of them having the mark ; and one or other of them, (to whom the associates delighted in mischief, never missed to join), having had particular irritation to take revenge by the torture and deaths libelled : besides the other adminicles of guilt already proven before you. The confessants were threatned to retract by the pannels themselves and their friends ; besides the bad usage from others in the country. They concur with the maleficiar's testimony, and amongst themselves, even when interrogate singly ; and upon new things, as severals of your number have tried the experiment : The reiteration of the acts which they declare anent some persons whom they never saw except in these congresses ; yet whom they know now on the first sight, is unaccountable if they were falsaries. And that they are not such, is further abstrusted by some of the pannels being delated by a confessing

witch in anno 1687. And you know that others delated by these confessants were lately brought in guilty by the verdict of a former Inquest, &c. which are so many joint proofs of these witnesses integrity, and makes a chain of evidence and moral demonstration, both against error in themselves, and delusion in relation to others, &c.

There were some things objected out of the law of Scotland, of which I shall give you some touch.

Whereas it was alledged, That *irretiti criminibus capitalibus*, and so under the pursuers power, cannot be admitted to be witnesses; conform to a statute in *Regiam Majestatem*.

To this it was answered, that we need not say, that these statutes have not the force of law, except in so far as they are received by custom, unless conform thereto. A laik cannot witness against a clerk, or *e contra*, &c. Nor need we make use of that which is obvious, viz. That these statutes are only common rules in ordinary crimes, such as witchcraft, &c. *Nam omni regula subverti potest*, and particularly this rule is actually so restricted in the case of witchcraft, by the opinion of lawyers and customs before mentioned, which are the best interpreters of laws; for if this application should hold, *socius criminis* could never be admitted: but we positively deny, that those confessants are under our power or influence; seeing Elisabeth Anderson is not guilty of witchcraft, for any thing that does appear; the Lindsays were never indicted for it; and the dyet was deserted against the Rogers; as the whole commission is to expire against the first of June, betwixt and which time, they are to proceed no further than this particular trial. So that this objection vanishes to smoak.

Whereas it is pretended, That the Rogers cannot be received, because not given out in the list of witnesses, conform to the regulation, whereby the panels might have proven their objections by their exculpation.

It was answered, 1. This objection ought to be repelled, because, besides that the act speaks only of criminal libells, and not indictments, which with the list of the witnesses may be given in far shorter time than the additional list has been given to the pannels, being prisoners: This act is interpreted by the common custom of the justice court; of giving additional lists after the first, upon shorter time then this has been given; as is particularly attested by James Guthrie macer, who has given them, and who being a person in office, his testimony is to be credited in what relates to his office; so that the old custom confirmed by a decision, Aug. 3. 1661, where Alexander Forrester was cited *apud acta* against a witch, continues *quoad* this point, as is related by M^r Kenzie, Page 529. But 2. Any objection that the pannels pretend against these witnesses, is *in jure*, or may instantly appear. 3. The case is altogether extraordinary and circumstantiate; for the witnesses had not confessed; and so were not existent under that redublication when the principal list was given out; whereby the act of parliament can only be understood of witnesses, that were then existent. And finally, the pannels got a general warrant of exculpation for citing of any witnesses they pleased, and they have had several days since they got this additional list, so that they might have cited witnesses to prove their objections, were it not the truth is; they have none besides these that are common, and before answered.

Thus I have given you hints that your own reasoning (which I know to be refined), may improve and apply, so as to dissolve the quibbles which the petty wits, who have not soul enough of themselves to penetrate into the true light of what is recondite, may raise against it; it being their common talent either to skip over the surface of mines, or otherwise to tear asunder some appurtenances of a scheme, and then presently pronounce it mortally maimed.

I must confess, that none could be more sceptical anent the truth of such old things as I have heard;

nor inquisitive for convasing the reality and explanations of them ; than I was before my attendances on Bargarran's house, and the several diets of court, and my conversation with some of these concerned thereanent. But now, after all I have seen, reasoned, and heard ; I do acknowledge myself entirely captivate by the dictates of natural understanding, and common sense, into a sound mind and persuasion, that, as there is such a thing as witchcraft, so it was eminent in its forementioned effect ; and the seven pannels were some of the witches.

I have troubled you little with my proper observations ; yet lest you should think me either too lazy or peevish, I shall make one, and it is, that I do not think the greater part of the condemned prisoners will ever fully confess ; of which conjecture I have two chief grounds, viz. That they are neither ignorant nor melancholic ; but on the contrary some of them would seem to have been once enlightened before they fell away, so that, if this be a sin unto death, there is no appearance that they will glorify God by acknowledgment.

Several of them are of singular knowledge, and a cuteness beyond the common level of their station : particularly, Margaret Lang did make harangues in her own defence, which neither divine nor lawyer could reasonably mend : Yet I thought that when they spoke in a matter of any concern, their eyes stood squint and fixed, as if they had been turning their ears and attentive to a dictator. Their answers to the trying interrogators put to them, were surprisingly subtle and cautious ; though indeed, by the industry of some of the judges and lawyers, they were at occasions involved in lies, prevarications and contradictions ; which might have proceeded either from natural or preternatural causes. Some of them were esteemed in the country very sagacious and exact in their business : Margaret Lang having been a midwife, and one of the Lindsays having acquired a considerable fortune by his tillage and trade ; yet it

was noticed, something odd either of iniquity or affectation; and Lindsay did finely get off from the sheriff when he was formerly accused in 1687.

Melancholians are lovers of solitude; witches of society and feasts; those are commonly pale and heavy; many of these corpulent and voluptuous. Witches are hard to confess as knowing their guilt; melancholians delight to discover their horridest dampths, because they think them no crime; the one's confessions every where are uniform; the other's phantasms are as various as their humours. Finally, witches teach their trade; whereas conceits would die with them, and could be no more conveyed than the humour which is the specific cause thereof. As these distinguishing characters do hold in general; so it is already manifest, that the real effects in several passages of Bargarran's daughter, were not possibly producible by any imagination or humour; and it is special in this case, that neither the pannels nor confessants were distempered by being kept from sleep, tortured, or the like, which were too usual in former times; but all the measures were strictly observed, that are the requisites of a truly impartial judgment.

Indeed not to have sent unto you the doubles of the depositions themselves; because it is not denied that the depositions are such as they are represented in the pleadings; the chief question being anent the hability of the last deponents. Neither was you to expect the defender's part of the debate, separately by itself, in respect that what was dispersed here and there for them, is faithfully repeated and implied in what you have; as to those points which I thought worthy the notice.

Upon the whole, I do believe, that there is scarcely a more rare providence of this nature in any true history; a more exact caution in any enquiry or trial of this kind: a more clear probation, without confession of the pannels themselves, or a more just sentence, putting together all circumstances, upon record.

F I N I S.

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